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Priestley, Joseph, 1733-
1804.

The theological and
miscellaneous works of

THE
Theological and Miscellaneous
WORKS
OF
JOSEPH ✓ PRIESTLEY, LL.D. F.R.S. &c.
IN TWENTY-FIVE VOLUMES.

EDITED, WITH NOTES,
BY JOHN TOWILL RUTT.

VOLUME I.
PART II.
CONTAINING
LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE.
(1787—1804.)

Justum, ac tenacem propositi virum,
Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
Non vultus instantis tyranni,
Mente quatit solidâ,

HORACE.

Patriot, and Saint, and Sage!
Him, full of years, from his lov'd native land,
Statesmen blood-stain'd, and priests idolatrous,
By dark lies maddening the blind multitude,
Drove with vain hate. Calm, pitying, he retir'd,
And mused, expectant, on the promis'd years.

COLERIDGE.

PREFACE.

THE epistolary part of this biography has so extended, as to preclude, were I prepared to attempt it, a recapitulation of the controversies in which Dr. Priestley engaged, the various censures to which his writings gave occasion, and the final determinations of his own judgment, especially on the most important questions of human interest. No small satisfaction on all these points may, however, be readily obtained, from numerous passages in the twenty-five volumes of his Works, and, above all, in the Memoirs and Correspondence. Yet it is scarcely possible not to regret, with Mr. Priestley, that his father's important occupations during his last days, and his subsequent rapid decline, should have prevented the performance of his purpose, to leave behind him a farther Continuation of his Memoirs, including "a summary of his religious opinions," and "a statement of all that appeared to him essential to the Christian belief and the Christian character."

To Mr. Priestley's own Continuation I am too much indebted, not to employ the earliest occasion of complying with his request, on accepting the former part of this biography. After saying, "I still hope to be able to publish an uniform edition of the whole of my father's Works," he adds, very kindly, "no one can feel more obliged to you than I do for collecting in one edition all my father's theological works; nor have I suffered the idea that it might be the means of delaying the execution of my own plan, to lessen the sense of that obligation."

Mr. Priestley, however, thus proceeds : “ We differ in our views as to the propriety of publishing his Correspondence ; and as your remarks have a tendency to injure me in the esteem of many persons, whose good opinion I value, may I request you, in the second part of the Memoirs, to state that you are satisfied of the propriety of my conduct ? ”

That satisfaction I beg leave most unequivocally to express, or rather to repeat ; for, in the former Preface, I fully designed to be so understood, when describing Mr. Priestley’s “ sense of propriety ” as “ the only hindrance to a compliance with my request ; ” and I trust that to my “ remarks ” will not be generally imputed an injurious “ tendency. ” It appears, indeed, that Dr. Priestley’s own practice would powerfully influence his son’s determination, which I took the liberty to regret. After saying, “ the greater part of the letters which my father received, prior to the riots at Birmingham, were destroyed, ” Mr. Priestley adds, “ what was a sufficient intimation to me, he destroyed all the letters he had received from Mr. Lindsey and Mr. Belsham to the end of the year 1802. ” Few readers of this biography, I trust, will regret the very different practice of Dr. Priestley’s correspondents ; though there have been too many instances, and some very modern, which may appear to confirm the judgment of Sir Henry Wotton, who inscribed over his fire-place, *optimus secretariorum*.

J. T. RUTT.

Newington Green,
July 18, 1832.

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ERRATUM.

Page 301, last line, for ' century,' read *half* century.

CHAPTER I.

(1787—1791.)

THE Memoirs in which Dr. Priestley had related, with characteristic simplicity, the most important and influential occurrences and occupations of a greatly varied life, from infancy to his 54th year, have been found to afford the most attractive and interesting passages to the former part of this biography. The reputation he had now acquired, from his researches in experimental philosophy, amidst still more favourite pursuits, was thus described by a very competent observer :

To enumerate Dr. Priestley's discoveries, would, in fact, be to enter into a detail of most of those that have been made within the last fifteen years. How many invisible fluids, whose existence evaded the sagacity of foregoing ages, has he made known to us ! The very air we breathe he has taught us to analyze, to examine, to improve ; a substance so little known, that even the precise effect of respiration was an enigma, till he explained it. He first made known to us the proper food of vegetables, and in what the difference between these and animal substances consisted. To him pharmacy is indebted for the method of making artificial mineral waters, as well as for a shorter method of preparing other medicines ; metallurgy, for more powerful and cheaper solvents ; and chemistry, for such a variety of discoveries as it would be tedious to recite ; discoveries which have new-modelled that science, and drawn to it, and to this country, the attention of Europe.

It is certain that since the year 1773, the eyes and regards of all the learned bodies in Europe have been directed to

this country, by his means. In every philosophical treatise his name is to be found, and in almost every page. They all own that most of their discoveries are due, either to the repetition of his discoveries, or to the hints scattered through his works.*

I shall now anticipate the period of Dr. Priestley's emigration, and of his final settlement in America, to introduce the very short Continuation of his Memoirs, finished at "Northumberland, March 24, 1795, in which," he adds, "I have completed the sixty-second year of my age."

(188.) When I wrote the preceding part of these Memoirs, I was happy, as must have appeared in the course of them, in the prospect of spending the remainder of my life at Birmingham, where I had every advantage for pursuing my studies, both philosophical and theological; but it pleased the Sovereign Disposer of all things to appoint for me other removals, and the manner in which they were brought about was more painful to me than the removals themselves. I am far, however, from questioning the wisdom or the goodness of the appointments, respecting myself or others.

(189.) To resume the account of my pursuits, where the former part of the Memoirs left it, I must observe that, in the prosecution of my *experiments*, I was led to maintain the doctrine of phlogiston against Mr. Lavoisier,† and other chemists in France, whose opinions were adopted not only by almost

* *Vindiciæ Priestleianæ*, addressed "to the youth of the two Universities," (1788,) pp. 67—69, where the passage is thus introduced by Mr. Lindsey:

"When, in 1787, I asked one who will be allowed a most capable judge, well known to the philosophical world by his own discoveries, how he would, in a few words, express our common friend's merits in philosophy, the next time I saw him he gave me the following sketch."

Mr. Belsham attributes this sketch, no doubt on sufficient authority, to "Mr. Kirwan, the present (1812) venerable and learned President of the Royal Society of Ireland." *Mem. of Lindsey*, p. 198.

† "Antony Laurence Lavoisier, a celebrated French chemist, was guillotined in 1794," (aged 51,) under Robespierre's "reign of terror."

all the philosophers of that country, but by those in England and Scotland also. My friends, however, of the Lunar Society,* were never satisfied with the anti-phlogistic doctrine. My experiments and observations on this subject were published in various papers in the "Philosophical Transactions."† At Birmingham I also published a new edition of my publications on the subject of *Air*, and others connected with it, reducing the six volumes to three, which, with his consent, I dedicated to the Prince of Wales.‡

(190.) In theology, I continued my "Defences of Unitarianism,"§ until it appeared to myself and my friends that my antagonists produced nothing to which it was of any consequence to reply. But I did not, as I had proposed, publish any address to the bishops, or to the legislature, on the subject. The former I wrote, but did not publish. I left it, however, in the hands of Mr. Belsham, when I came to America, that he might dispose of it as he should think proper.||

(191.) The pains that I took to ascertain the state of early opinions concerning Jesus Christ, and the great misapprehensions I perceived in all the ecclesiastical historians, led me to undertake a "General History of the Christian Church to the Fall of the Western Empire," which accordingly I wrote in two volumes octavo, and dedicated to Mr. Shore.¶ This work I mean to continue.**

(192.) At Birmingham I wrote the "Second Part" of my "Letters to a Philosophical Unbeliever," and dedicated the whole to Mr. Tayleur, of Shrewsbury,†† who had afforded the most material assistance in the publication of many of my

* See I. 339.

† From 1788 to 1791. *Phil. Trans.* LXXVIII. 147, 313; LXXIX. 7, 139, 289; LXXXI. 213.

‡ In 1790. See W. XXV. 368.

§ "For 1788 and 1789, containing Letters to Bishop Horsley, Revds. Barnard, Dr. Knowles, and Hawkins." W. XIX. 1—110.

|| Four of the six Letters Mr. Belsham published, 1815. See W. XIX. 509. The other two I have lately printed, by favour of Mr. Belsham's executor. See W. XXV. 188.

¶ In 1790. See W. VIII. 3; I. 61, *ad fin.* 215.

** See W. IX., X.

†† In 1787. See W. IV. 313.

theological works, without which, the sale being inconsiderable, I should not have been able to publish them at all.*

(193.) Before I left Birmingham, I preached a funeral sermon for my friend, Dr. Price,† and another for Mr. Robinson, of Cambridge, who died with us on a visit to preach our annual charity-school sermon.‡ I also preached the last annual sermon to the friends of the college at Hackney.§ All these three sermons were published. ||

(194.) About two years before I left Birmingham, the question about the "Test and Corporation Acts" was much agitated both in and out of Parliament. This, however, was altogether without any concurrence of mine. I only delivered and published a sermon on the 5th of November, 1789,¶ recommending the most peaceable method of pursuing our object. Mr. Madan, however, the most respectable clergyman in the town,** preaching and publishing a very inflammatory sermon on the subject,†† inveighing in the bitterest manner against the Dissenters in general, and myself in particular, I addressed a number of "Familiar Letters to the Inhabitants of Birmingham" in our defence. This produced a reply from him, and other letters from me.‡‡ All mine were written in

* See I. 215, 216; W. VIII. 562.

† In 1791.

‡ In 1790.

§ "April 27, 1791," in the Old Jewry, on "the Proper Objects of Education in the present State of the World." The design and progress of the Institution had been thus announced:

"The Dissenters are establishing an University of their own. A large house and extensive grounds have been purchased at Hackney, for 5,600*l.*, to which a wing is to be added, and they have 9000*l.* in hand. An anonymous benefactor has just sent them 500*l.*, for which their gratitude is expressed in the newspapers. The expense of board, lodging and tuition for each session is 60 guineas to such as are not on the foundation." *Lond. Chron.*, (July 3, 1787,) LXII. 8.

|| See W. XV. 404, 420, 441.

¶ On "the Conduct to be observed by Dissenters in order to procure the Repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts." This sermon was "printed at the request of the Committee of the seven congregations of the three denominations of Protestant Dissenters in Birmingham." See W. XV. 389.

** See I. 413.

†† "The Principal Claims of the Dissenters considered." See W. XIX. 139.

‡‡ See *ibid.* pp. 135—304.

an ironical and rather a pleasant manner, and in some of the last of them I introduced a farther reply to Mr. Burn, another clergyman in Birmingham, who had addressed to me "Letters on the Infallibility of the Apostical Testimony concerning the Person of Christ," after replying to his first set of letters in a separate publication.*

To these very scanty notices, by Dr. Priestley, of the events which had engaged his attention, and the different pursuits in which he had been occupied during several years, I am happy to add a variety of information from his numerous letters. Of these, that very large proportion, written to Mr. Lindsey in the unreserved confidence of an assured friendship, will, I trust, be found peculiarly interesting.

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.†

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, 1787.

I SHALL be obliged to you if you will get me from Hayes,‡ "Histoire de l'Homme," provided, on looking into it, you think it of any consequence to my purpose, which is, to collect facts concerning human nature that may be depended upon, having in view, at some time or other, to illustrate and extend

* See W. XIX. 258, 305. I have mentioned, (*ibid.* p. 453,) on most respectable information, how cordially Mr. Burn, in 1821, appeared to unite for general Christian purposes with Unitarian Dissenters. On a late very public occasion that gentleman thus candidly censured the spirit into which he had been occasionally betrayed in this controversy:

"Whatever might have been the defects of his own conduct in the earlier periods of his life, he now felt himself better established in the principles of his religion than at any former period. Yet, had he to live his past life over again, he should have to correct the asperity of feelings and expressions which it was his misfortune to have used, in his controversies with a late respectable and highly-talented individual (Dr. Priestley). Whatever degree of error there might have been in that procedure, he begged to say, that it did not arise from any disrespect to that highly-respected individual, but from what he then considered to be his duty." See "Low Bailiff's Dinner," *Col. 2*, "Birmingham Journal, Oct. 29, 1825"

† Essex Street.

‡ Catalogue.

Hartley's theory.* If you see Mr. Hayes, you may tell him I expect to get him a pretty large order for our library.

I think I never troubled you with the mention of an affair which has made a great noise indeed here, and in the neighbourhood, for six months past, and which was decided yesterday at the annual meeting of the subscribers to the library. It was a motion to exclude all books of controversial divinity. Much has been written and published on the subject, and I wrote an address to the subscribers, which, as it may amuse you, I will send you a copy of, the first opportunity I have.†

The clergy have exerted themselves to the utmost in every way possible, and yesterday they mustered all the force they could raise. The chief speakers were the rector of the principal church on one side, and Mr. Russell on the other; and though no measures were concerted by us, the motion was rejected by about two-thirds of the company present, so that the high-church party is thoroughly humbled, and we triumph. The rector went about the town canvassing for votes on the occasion; and till the votes were collected, neither myself, nor any of my friends, expected to succeed.‡

TO REV. WM. TURNER, JUN.§

DEAR SIR,

Birmingham, Jan. 1, 1788.

I AM much obliged by the favour of yours of Nov. 24, and especially for the copy of the "Remarks on Benedictinus," which I think so excellent, that I have some thoughts of inserting them in the Repository. I hope soon to be favoured with the other piece you mention from the same hand.

In my "Defences of Unitarianism, for the year 1787," which I have just published here, I have slightly mentioned Mr. Madan's performance,|| not thinking it deserving of particular

* "The hints and loose materials written in several volumes" for "the illustration of Hartley" were all destroyed in the riots. See *Appeal*, Part ii.; W. III. 6, 7; XIX. 380, note; *Mem. of Lindsey*, p. 457, note.

† See "Address, Aug. 14, 1787," *Appeal*, Part ii.; W. XIX. 461, 583.

‡ *Orig. MS.*

§ Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

|| W. XVIII. 491. See I. 412, 413.

notice. Of the *Undergraduate's** I have said more, because it was much boasted of at Oxford, and in many places.

I am glad to hear of the industrious circulation you mention of any of the pieces against me, as it tends to promote discussion, which must in time be favourable to truth; but I want coadjutors, and I flatter myself I shall find one in you. I am happy to hear from many quarters that you have the ingenuous ardour of a young man, that you feel the value of truth, and are zealous for the propagation of it. I look to you therefore for what I cannot now expect from your father.

P. S. You do yourself much credit by the interest you take in the small society of Unitarian Baptists at Newcastle.†

TO REV. NEWCOME CAPPE.‡

DEAR SIR,

Birmingham, Jan. 23, 1788.

IT is now a long time since I have heard any thing from you, but I take the opportunity of my being one of our Committee of Correspondence for abolishing the Slave Trade, to give you a few lines. I hope indeed something has been already done in York, from which place a petition to Parliament would have a good effect. We are zealous and unanimous here, and next Sunday, previous to a town's meeting, we all preach on the subject, (churches and meeting-houses alike,) not to collect money, but to give information to such as may have been inattentive to the subject.§ I inclose one circular letter and a few tracts, though no doubt you have seen them.

I hope you have received the copy I ordered for you of my annual pamphlet. As I have now made a bishop, Dr. Horsley being, I hear, appointed for Gloucester,|| I hope I shall not want antagonists; but I want coadjutors. While it is so much in one hand the effect is but little, as it may be said

* W. XVIII. 497. See I. 406.

† *Orig. MS.*

‡ York.

§ See W. XV. 363.

|| He had been made a Prebend of Gloucester, by the Lord Chancellor Thurlow, from whose influence, in 1789, he attained the mitre of St. David's, whence he was translated to the more lucrative see of St. Asaph, in which he died.

that if it had not been for one factious person, all would have been quiet.

I hear of no converts among the Jews; but a learned Jew of Koningsburg is translating my Letters into Hebrew, and we shall print them here. He has sent me the numbers for three years of a periodical work, designed to promote literature among the Jews. It is in Hebrew, with a small part of it in High Dutch, consequently it is of little use to me.* I find by my correspondence with him that my Letters have gained universal attention. They are translated into German; but many Jews, he says, in Poland, &c., understand neither English nor German.

If your son† should settle here, I shall not be without hopes of seeing you soon. My best wishes to you and all yours.‡

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.§

DEAR FRIEND, *Birmingham, March 20, 1788.*

I BEGIN now to be impatient to hear from you, and hope soon to receive the *Memoirs* ||, that I may make the alterations I have mentioned, and write a few additions; but I shall not do much in that way, nor be in haste to transcribe them, as I can make the present copy sufficiently answer the purpose, if it should be wanted soon.¶

TO REV. JOSEPH BRETLAND.**

DEAR SIR, *Birmingham, July 19, 1788.*

I HAVE just corrected for the press the last sheet of the Repository, which will be published Aug. 6, and in it you will find my reply to *Eubulus* †† (as supplemental to yours and Mr. Toulmin's‡‡). Many persons, I find, are willing to adopt his

* Having, I suppose, lost by disuse that early acquirement. See I. 8.

† See I. 267, note *.

‡ Orig. MS.

§ Essex Street.

|| See I. 418, 419.

¶ Orig. MS.

** Exeter.

†† "Objections to a Weekly Day of Rest." *Theol. Repos.* VI. 352, 465; W. XX. 330—351.

‡‡ *Theol. Repos.* VI. 22, 113, 331. See I. 390, 396.

opinion, even men of good understanding and virtues, on which account I was unwilling to leave any thing unsaid that had occurred to me on the subject, especially with respect to the state of things in the primitive times, on which I chiefly insist.

As to what is quoted from Jewish Cabalists about the pre-existence or miraculous conception of Christ, the Jews unanimously say we mistake them. There is evidence enough, in all ages, of the Jews in general, learned and unlearned, believing no such thing. That the Messiah (whom they in general consider as another Moses) may make some change in their law, it is very possible that many of their writers have advanced. The *Tolder Jesohu* I have. It is only an idle story, founded on the account of the miraculous conception in the gospels.

I have looked over Mr. Taylor's posthumous tract, and in this number of the Repository you will find that I have noticed the *Introduction*.*

I have from Mr. Isaac ten copies of his reply to Mr. Rowles. I like it very much. It is written in such a manner as I think must make an impression where it is read. He speaks in his letter to me of my *Appeal*† being out of print. On this I sent Mr. Johnson 100 copies of the cheap edition, printed here, and shall, when I write next, desire him to send a dozen copies to you, of which I beg his acceptance. Who is this Mr. Isaac?‡

There will be published Memoirs of Archdeacon Blackburne, written by himself, but I know nothing of the publication of his works.§.

* *Theol. Repos.* VI. 484; W. VII. 472, 481.

† First published, 1770. See I. 154.

‡ "During many years minister of the society of Unitarian Baptists at Moretonhamstead" On his decease, in 1818, he was thus described :

"For deep and habitual seriousness of spirit, for the most engaging simplicity of manners, for undaunted zeal in the cause of his Divine Master, for a generous, delicate regard to the sorrows of the poor, the sick and the destitute, and for pious gratitude and resignation, amidst agonies that human skill could neither remove nor soften, he has left behind him a name, over which his family and friends will long muse with a melancholy joy." M. R. XIII. 772.

§ *Orig. MS.* On Blackburne, see I. 81, note *, 415.

TO THE SAME.

DEAR SIR,

Dawlish, Sept. 2, 1788.

I INCLOSE a letter from Mr. Johnson, to which you must reply. I am confident I mentioned you before, as the most desirable theological reviewer he could engage.* I write by this post to recommend you again, and hope you will make no objection. It is an opportunity of rendering essential service to the cause of truth.†

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.‡

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, Sept 29, 1788.

IT is a sore disappointment, both to me and my wife, that you do not come to Birmingham. Indeed, many others, as well as we, expected great pleasure from the interview. I cannot but say I was a little apprehensive of it when I went to the sea. But October is often as pleasant travelling as any time of the year, except that the days are short. However, I shall not urge you at present, but shall hope to arrange better another year. You must come about the time of our charity sermon, or a month later, when the days are the longest.

I beg you would return my thanks to your quondam Catholic friend for his present. My wife and I were much amused with what he reported for Mr. Coghlan. Many persons, as well as my wife, were, no doubt, much pleased with Mr. Berington's sermon, on the occasion you mention; but all agreed, that whatever favourable impression was made upon them by the sermon, was effectually done away by the exhibition of the mass.

I am amused with Mr. Harrison's violence. There would certainly be a persecution of us if the times were favourable,

* For the Analytical Review, of which Mr. Johnson was the proprietor. It commenced May, 1788, and terminated June, 1799, with the 29th volume, to the first seventeen of which Dr. Geddes (according to a "catalogue of articles" given by Mr. Good) had been a very frequent contributor. He reviewed (I. 24, 294; II. 311) Dr. Priestley's "Lectures on History." *Mem. of Geddes*, (1803,) pp 191—195.

† Orig. MS.

‡ Essex Street.

but happily they are not, and such things as these deserve not the least notice.

I cannot well help subscribing to Dr. Geddes, but I should be surprised if his subscription of a thousand be ever full.* If he would listen to me, I would advise him to publish his translation, first, in one volume, and his notes afterwards. However, I shall forbear sending my subscription some time, and may give him my advice along with it; and, if he find that subscriptions do not come in as he expected, he may be the better disposed to listen to me.

The first opportunity I have I will send you a letter I have just received from Mr. Hutton, co-pastor with Mr. Taylor, of Dublin,† representing the state of things there with respect to free inquiry. I saw him a year ago, and liked him much. He appeared to me as zealous for the Divine Unity, and every thing good; but, for want of books, he can do nothing where he is. Nothing of mine or yours is to be had in Dublin. I was thinking it might do well to send him some books.

I am concerned to hear of Mr. Hammond's‡ illness. Such men are rare, and much wanted. I like Mr. Frend's piece§ much, but wish he had deferred the publication till after the issue of his cause.|| I have heard nothing from Oxford any more than yourself. I thank you for Mr. Palmer's letter, but I had one to the same purport myself.¶

* By July, 1790, "copies subscribed for," 343. Among "Queries," &c., occasioned by the publication of his proposals, Dr. Geddes, for "having allowed Dr. Priestley to be a Christian," was asked, "Sir, are you a Roman Catholic? Sir, are you a Christian?" *Mem. of Geddes*, pp. 200, 202.

† The decease of "this venerable and excellent man, aged 84," has been just noticed, *M. R. (N. S.)* V. 789.

‡ Of Fenstanton, formerly a clergyman and Fellow of Queen's College. He died, 1830, aged 75. Mr. Hammond, though a strict Unitarian, considered the redemption by Christ in the manner of Wakefield and Tyrwhitt, rather than of Jebb, Lindsey, and Priestley. See *W. XX.* 309, *note*; *M. R. (N. S.)* IV. 475, 476; *Dyer's Mem. of R. Robinson*, (1796,) p. 320.

§ "Mr. Coulthurst's *Blunders Exposed*; or a Review of several Texts which Mr. Coulthurst lately produced, in his Sermons before the University of Cambridge, as Proofs of the established Doctrine of the Trinity."

|| See *Appendix* to his "Thoughts on Subscription," &c., ed. 2, 1789.

¶ *Orig. MS.*

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, Oct. 20, 1788.

YOU will think it a long time since I wrote to you, but I have been to pay Mr. Tayleur a visit at Shrewsbury, from which I returned last night. My wife accompanied me, and I hope we are both the better for the excursion. We found the old gentleman quite as well as I expected, and had, I believe, mutual satisfaction in the interview, though it would have been greatly heightened had you and Mrs. Lindsey been of the party.

Mr. Tayleur's generosity has no bounds. He insisted on my accepting another hundred pounds. He seemed much pleased with the preface to my edition of the *Life of Marolles*, &c.,* which I now send you.

When I wrote last I did not care to mention it, as I was in hopes it would be very transient, but I was in great pain, in consequence of passing some gall-stones. However, it kept increasing, and for the greatest part of the week following I was not capable of writing, reading, or any thing. I recovered: but, on Tuesday last, I had another fit at my daughter's, on the road to Shrewsbury, and had thoughts of returning; but, happily, it went off, and I was able to pursue my journey. At present I feel tolerably well, and, with care, hope to do well; but I must live chiefly on vegetables.

Since my last, I have given almost all the time I could to some experiments relating to Phlogiston, and have drawn up a third paper to send to the Royal Society.† However, I do every day more or less at my Church History, and think I shall easily finish one 8vo. volume to send you, in long hand, against my April visit. At least, I shall do my endeavour. I

* "An History of the Sufferings of Mr. Lewis De Marolles, and Mr. Isaac Le Fevre, upon the Revocation of the Edict of Nantz." See W. IX. 19; X. 446—458; XXV. 320.

† "Objections to the Experiments and Observations relating to the Principle of Acidity, the Composition of Water, and Phlogiston, considered; with farther Experiments and Observations on the same Subject. Read Nov. 27, 1788." (See *supra*, p. 3, note †.) *Phil. Trans.* LXXIX 7.

want *Ruffini Opera*, as one of his works is a history, though a poor one.

At Shrewsbury I heard an alarming account of Mr. Towgood, who will be as much missed as most people, especially on account of his activity in promoting the New Academy. One account said that he was dead.

I send you Mr. Hutton's letter, and should be glad if one of the things to be sent him might be my "History of Early Opinions."

Here I receive your favour, and thank you for the various interesting intelligence you send me. I shall be glad to receive the letter, &c., you mention. It often happens that friends give us more concern than enemies. I now fulfil my promise in sending you Mr. Hobson's* letter, and my answer. He is a man similar to Mr. Palmer, but without his learning.

I am glad there are some hopes of Mr. Towgood,† and that Mr. Lee is so well. Return Marolles. It is not finished. The papers for the Repository‡ to remain with Mr. Johnson. Mr. F. Palmer will send for his.§

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, Nov. 1788.

I AM composing the account of the persecution by Diocletian,|| which is about twice as much as you will now have seen. In about a fortnight more I shall send what shall be transcribed, if my amanuensis attend, as he promises.

* A student who had been educated for the ministry among the Calvinists, and had now become a Unitarian. He resided in or near Birmingham at the time of the riots, and soon after emigrated to America.

† He survived till "January, 1791." Mr. Manning, speaking of Mr. Towgood's venerable father, daily expecting his own decease, "in full age and hoary holiness," says,

"The strength of his religious principles was severely tried by the death of his only son, in his 60th year. He was a gentleman of distinguished public spirit and ardour of mind, and zealously engaged in various undertakings, in which the advantage and honour of the Protestant Dissenters were concerned." *Life of M. Towgood*, (1792,) p. 84.

‡ Which had been now finally discontinued. See *supra*, p. 8.

§ *Orig.* MS.

|| See W. VIII. 212.

In return for your account of the proceedings in London on the commemoration of the landing of King William,* I send you a printed account of ours. None of the clergy of the town would attend, because we refused to drink *the Church and Constitution*. Without Mr. Russell nothing would have been done.

I also send you a new edition that I have printed of the Trial of Elwall, with an addition to the preface, which will please you. As the printer has taken the expense upon himself, I wish you could take a few, as you think you can dispose of them. It is cheap enough. 2000 are struck off.

I do not know what to say to Mrs. Rayner's kind proposal. As my complaint, without being violent, continues, I must employ an amanuensis, which is some expense, though not great. I thank God that my supplies have always exceeded my wants, which encourages me to do all I can without regard to expense. My time and labour I give with cheerfulness, and am happy in being able to give it.

I shall spare no pains with my present work, and hope to finish two octavo volumes, so as to have them ready for the press against April next, if no more difficulties occur than I at present foresee. I thank you for the pains you have taken about *Ruffinus*. Get me, if you can, Mosheim *de rebus Christianorum ante Constantinum*.†

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, Nov. 16, 1788.

THOUGH I wrote to you on Friday with a parcel, I write again to inform you, that a few days before, I gave a letter for you to Mr. Moses, a Jew of this town, who had often desired me to introduce him to you.

By this time the copies of my edition of the Life of Ma-

* The Centenary, when the Revolution Society had a public dinner at the London Tavern, the Earl of Stanhope in the chair. I then heard Dr. Rees repeat the accustomed *apocryphal* "character of King William," (*nil nisi bonum*), and Dr. Towers "delivered a short oration." See his *Tracts*, (1796,) III. 8.

† *Orig. MS.* See Mosheim quoted W. VIII. 189, *note* †.

rolles, &c., will be arrived. I should be sorry if Mr. Johnson should be a loser by this publication; and yet such is the unpopularity of myself and this particular subject, that I fear it will be the case. To myself, such books are most of all interesting, and, I think, improving. I shall dwell much on such things in my Ecclesiastical History, as I shall have a particular eye both to young persons and unbelievers, in the composition of it. I have even introduced all the particulars, though abridged, of Eusebius's account of the Martyrs of Palestine.*

I am sorry to give you so much trouble about my commissions; but, as you have opportunity, I wish you would quicken the circulation of the copy of my paper for the Royal Society, and then return it, with the MS. of my History, which you may have at the time. This you may always read at your full leisure. As the hand-writing is good, it will not give you much trouble.†

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, Dec. 14, 1788.

I AM writing the history of Julian, and in less than a week hope to finish that, and to have transcribed the reign of Constantine, on which I think you will find that I have thrown some new light, particularly with respect to the different stages in the Arian tenet, of which I was not fully aware before.‡ That scheme will appear more and more improbable; but how tenaciously many adhere to it!

I am glad that you are sending books to Mr. Freeman.§ Do not forget to send the "History of Early Opinions," and the Repository, in my name, and with my compliments, and send several sets of both, for the public libraries, if you please.

Distance lessens the magnitude of objects. The subject that interests you all so much I seldom think of, though you oblige

* See W. VIII. 232.

† *Orig. MS.*

‡ See *Per. viii. Sect. viii.*, W. VIII. 367.

§ Unitarian minister "of the first Episcopal Church, Boston, N. E.," ordained (1787) by "the wardens, vestry, proprietors, and congregation," to be "their rector, minister, priest, pastor, teaching elder, and public teacher." See *Vindiciæ Priestleianæ*, I. 31—35; *Mem. of Lindsey*, p. 238.

me exceedingly by informing me how things go on, especially as I see no company, and only a weekly newspaper, except now and then. Dissenters, I think with you, will not be losers by a change of ministers.* But the dislike of the coalition will never go entirely off in the country. How fatal are some single wrong steps, and how much is honesty the best policy!

I hope you will be able to get me *Mosheim de rebus—ante Constantinum*.

Our best respects to Mr. and Mrs. Lee, Mrs. Rayner, &c.†

TO THE EDITOR OF THE GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE.

MR. URBAN,

Birmingham, Dec. 24, 1788.

I BEG leave, through the channel of your Repository, which comes into the hands of most men of letters, to inform my friends and the public, that though I proposed to make an annual reply to all those who should controvert what I have written, and have undertaken to defend, against the doctrine of the Trinity, I see no reason to make any publication of the kind at the close of this year, because it has produced nothing that appears to me to require any answer. Nothing has been advanced by any of the writers who have appeared in favour of this doctrine, in reply to my repeated assertions, that it was not the faith of the primitive church, that it arose from the principles of Platonism, which were adopted by the philosophizing and learned Christians, and made its way very slowly among the unlearned; and, also, that the present system of orthodoxy on this subject was formed by degrees, and was not completed till after the council of Nice.

I would observe farther, that no Arian has as yet attempted to controvert what I have maintained, viz. that their doctrine was unknown to both the learned and unlearned Christians till about the time of Arius; and of this I shall produce much additional evidence, (shewing that what is now called Arianism had no existence till the latter part of the reign of Constantius,)

* On the projected regency, during the mental malady of George III.

† *Orig.* MS.

in my "History of the Christian Church till the Fall of the Western Empire," which is nearly ready for the press.

The Trinitarians, who are principally concerned to support what they have maintained in this controversy, are Dr. Horsley, Bishop of St. David's; Mr. Howes, of Norwich; and Dr. Geddes; all of whom have been frequently called upon, in a manner that appeared to me to be the best calculated to engage them, to produce whatever they may have to allege against what I have advanced with respect to each of them, and they have all had time enough for the purpose.

Dr. Horne, the Dean of Canterbury, stands particularly pledged for a *large work* on the subject. He, indeed, required *time*, but time sufficient has been given him; so that, if nothing come from him very soon, it will be concluded, that, upon second thoughts, he found himself engaged in a business to which he was not equal: but then it will become him, as an honest man and a lover of truth, frankly to acknowledge this. However, the impartial public will easily perceive the real situation of all these gentlemen, whether they have the ingenuousness to own it or not, and will be influenced in forming their opinions, on the question in debate, accordingly.

Things being in this situation, I shall wait another year; and if nothing then appear deserving of particular notice, I shall close this controversy with the serious address which I proposed to make to the bench of bishops, and to the public, on this interesting subject.*

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, Jan. 27, 1789.

THE cook's maxim, of taking care of the two ends, and the middle will take care of itself, has not answered with respect to my work, as you like the two ends better than the middle. However, I will do my best to make that also to your taste.

I send you a few more additions, and a specimen of my pulpit expositions of scripture,† which, having a good amanuensis, I take the opportunity of writing out in part, but shall

* *Gent. Mag.* (1789), LIX. 10.

† See I. 16, 339, 340.

not continue long. It will be some years before I shall finish or think of publishing this work. When I do it, I shall dedicate it to Mr. Russell.*

I am sorry to hear of Mrs. Rayner's indisposition, and beg my own and my wife's particular respects to her. You will, of course, tell her what I am about, and I hope it will not be displeasing to her. I hope she liked the Life of M. Marolles, &c.

You never returned Mr. Hutton's letter to me,† and I know not how to direct to him. When you send him any thing, do not fail to send, in my name, the Theological Repository, 3 last vols., and the "History of Early Opinions."

I like Mr. Frend's Second Address no less than his first.‡ I greatly admire his spirit and ability, and hope much from him.

Get me Mosheim, if you can, or borrow it. Please to return the MS. within the week, as usual.§

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND,

1789.

YOU expect originality where it is not to be had. In a general history many things must be said which have often been said before, and cannot be said better. For example, a brief account of the *principal* writers is absolutely necessary in all the periods of the history, as well as a particular account of *all*, in the earlier periods; but those I shall profess to take, for the most part, from Cave or Dupin.

I now send the remainder of the work, and a few additions, which I foresee will increase as I read other historians, which I am doing, beginning with Nicephorus.|| I hope you will be

* A purpose accomplished, 1803. See W. XI. 3. † *Supra*, p. 11.

‡ Mr. Frend had printed, in a very cheap form, for extensive circulation, "An Address to the Members of the Church of England, and to Protestant Trinitarians in general, exhorting them to turn from the Worship of Three Persons to the Worship of the True God." This was now followed by "A Second Address, upon the same Subject."

§ *Orig.* MS.

|| Who wrote, in the 14th century, An Ecclesiastical History, from the Birth of Christ to the Death of Phocas, in 610. *Nouv. Diet. Hist.* (1789), VI. 475.

able to get me Mosheim, though I really expect little from him, and therefore do not desire you to be in any hurry about it. I have already so far looked into Fleury, or Sueur, as to see that I made no great omissions, and to be directed to authorities; and for some things, I have, at present, quoted the former, till I can verify what he has given, by some early writers; but some common-place matters I shall probably leave, as quoted from him. They will not make many pages. As to Lardner, I really think it better to leave what I have taken from him, on his authority, which no person will question.

I mean to introduce more of the history of the Jews, which I shall professedly take from Basnage. With all this there will be more that is truly original in my *History* than in almost any other, especially in what is of the greatest importance, the natural progress of opinions, which has always been strangely misconceived and misrepresented.

I inclose a letter and a book* from the Duke of Grafton, which I thought you would like to see. Please to return them. It is the only intercourse I ever had with him.† I wrote a civil answer to his letter, and recommended to his notice the *Life*——‡

TO REV. JOSHUA TOULMIN.§

DEAR SIR,

Birmingham, March 23, 1789.

I AM not able to recollect any thing about the piece you mention of Mr. Cardale.|| I do not know that I ever heard of it before. I am glad that you are drawing up an account of that valuable man.

Your "Letter to the Bishops"¶ I have not yet seen, but I

* Probably the *Hints*. See *infra*.

† Mr. Lindsey's personal intercourse with this nobleman "did not commence till about June, 1789, from which time the Duke became a frequent morning visitor at Essex House." See *Mem. of Lindsey*, pp. 321, 322.

‡ *Orig.* MS., which ends thus abruptly.

§ Taunton.

|| See I. 133.

¶ "On the Application of the Protestant Dissenters to Parliament, for a Repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts, including Strictures on some Passages in the Bishop of Gloucester's (Dr. Halifax's) Sermon, on January 30, 1788." M. R. X. 671.

go to London in a fortnight, and expect to find it in Mr. Johnson's shop. I shall then say something more to him on the subject of your reviewing.* Your son's review of the Repository was almost every thing that I wished.

I have reason to be thankful that my health, about which you obligingly inquire, is at present very good, so that if I do not work, I am criminally idle. Of late, however, my working has been almost wholly in the laboratory; having finished the outline of my Ecclesiastical History from original writers. I have, however, many modern ones to read and compare with mine, and shall begin to print on my return from London, in May next, if all be well.

I have heard much from Mr. Lindsey of your Life of Biddle,† and wish to see it.‡

TO REV. T. LINDSEY,§

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, April 3, 1789.

YOUR account of Mr. Belsham|| surprises and pleases me much.¶ I am glad that his embarrassment is of so short continuance, and think he will make an useful addition to the corps at Hackney. But if he teach divinity, for which he is best qualified, what will they do with Dr. Rees? It will be an Unitarian academy, do what they will.

I am sorry to hear what you say of the flagging of disci-

* In the *Analytical*. See *supra*, p. 10.

† "This instructive biographical narrative was reprinted by the London Unitarian Book Society, in 1791, and has been extensively circulated." M. R. X 669.

‡ *Orig. MS*

§ Essex Street.

|| Who, in March 1789, had introduced himself to Mr. Lindsey. "It was," says Mr. Belsham, "a visit of form, perhaps it may be said of curiosity, not, it is hoped, wholly unwarrantable in the new proselyte, to see the holy confessor and champion of truth, whose doctrine he had embraced, and whose dignified example he had endeavoured, in his humbler measure, to follow." *Mem. of Lindsey*, p. 292.

¶ See *ibid.* pp. 285—290; "Calm Inquiry," *Pref.* I have seen an original letter from Mr. Belsham's highly-respectable mother, written many years before this event, in which, with a most becoming maternal solicitude, on her principles, civil and religious, she says, "I hope you will never take your politics from Junius, or your theology from Dr. Priestley."

pline, as it is not easy to restore it; but I can easily conceive that Dr. Price may be alarmed without much reason.

I am happy in the near prospect of my usual interview with you. I shall call as usual upon you, if all be well, on Tuesday next, at noon, in my way to Mr. Vaughan's, and the next day I shall hope to dine with you, according to custom, at Mrs. Rayner's. The two first Sundays will, of course, be yours, if you choose it; but I shall have three, and the arrangement of them will be as you please, leaving one for Dr. Price.

I have just received Mr. Wakefield's New Translations.* I hear nothing of Dr. Geddes's subscription. What my plan is you will see when I come, not having found time to adjust and transcribe it.

Mr. Wakefield has given a very free, and, in my opinion, a just character of Mr. Gibbon's History.† I have no thought of animadverting upon him, except *en passant*. David Levi is unworthy of any notice. I have a curious letter concerning him and his puffs in the papers, which, however, I have not seen. I shall bring it with me.

P. S. My wife always desires her remembrances, and depends upon our making a better arrangement for seeing you at Birmingham this summer. Remember us both to Mrs. Rayner.‡

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, May 4, 1789.

YOU will be glad to hear that I had a very agreeable journey, and that I found all well at Birmingham. I need not tell you how happy the recollection of our late interview

* "Of those parts only of the New Testament which are wrongly translated in our common version."

† Of which, after no very gentle censures of its style and spirit, Mr. Wakefield adds, "If Gibbon be a fine writer, those heroes of antiquity, his diametrical opposites in every character of composition, who have carried away every vote of every man of taste, in every age, were the merest bunglers in their profession. Gibbon may write well, but then, most undoubtedly, Xenophon, Cæsar, and Luke, are contemptible historians." *Pref.* See M. R. XII. 715.

‡ *Orig.* MS.

makes me, and how I find myself invigorated by it, in all my favourite pursuits. I hope to derive the same advantage from your visit to Birmingham, and am sorry that I could not tell my wife (who looks towards it with pleasure) at what time we might expect you. I shall be obliged to you for that information when you write next.

Yesterday I preached your sermon on the being "baptized for the dead,"* and liked it much; but I should have thought the interpretation more natural if there had been more Christian martyrs at the time of writing that epistle.

The more I reflect on our scheme for translating the Scriptures, the more I am pleased with it. I think the fifth article will answer your ideas, if it is expressed as follows,—Without any notes, except as few as possible, relating to the version or the phraseology.†

I shall soon begin to do a little; and notwithstanding my other engagements, shall appropriate part of every day to this new work.

I write, by this day's post, to Mr. Belsham; but he must not be troubled on the subject of this translation in the present state of his affairs. He has, I hear, taken the pains to collect all the interpretations of the passages of Scripture usually alleged on the Arian and Socinian controversy, ancient and modern, to assist him in forming his own judgment.‡ It is said that, joined to his own remarks, it would make a very valuable publication.§

If you could send me a few more copies of Mr. Frend's

* 1 Cor. xv. 29.

† See W. XVII. 531—533.

‡ Or rather, in the first design, "for conducting the minds of his pupils in this inquiry." Mr. Belsham says,

"The plan was to form a collection of all the texts in the New Testament which in any way related to the person of Christ, and to arrange them under different heads, beginning with simple pre-existence, and advancing through the various intermediate steps to the doctrine of the proper Deity of Christ. Under each text was introduced the comment of one or more learned and approved Trinitarian, Arian, or Unitarian expositors, in the commentator's own words, and, in general, without any additional, or, at least, doctrinal comment of the compiler's own." *Calm Inquiry*, (Pref.) pp. vi. vii.

§ This collection contributed to the *Inquiry*, in 1811.

Addresses, I could dispose of them to advantage. I have an active distributor at Manchester, and Unitarianism gains ground there, notwithstanding the opposition of Dr. Barnes.

Give my respects to Mrs. Rayner, Mr. and Mrs. Lee, Dr. Blackburn, and other friends in general.*

TO REV. JOSEPH BRETLAND.†

DEAR SIR,

Birmingham, May 7, 1789.

I DEFER giving any account of the black substance you sent me, till I can consult some persons of more experience in such things than myself.

I shall not take any notice of Mr. Levi. I shall begin to print my Church History in about three weeks, and if all be well, it will be published some time the next winter. I have not at present any thoughts of continuing it farther than the Fall of the Western Empire, but I shall be determined by circumstances afterwards. I do not know that I can throw any new light on what follows.

When I was in London I settled with Mr. Lindsey and Mr. Dodson a plan for a new translation of the Bible, in which we shall be glad of your assistance. I am to provide for the *Hagiographa*. Will you undertake any part of it for me? I shall print a few copies of our plan, and shall then send it to you; but we wish it not to be much talked of.

All the notes in Baskerville's Bible, distinguished by *asterisms*, which are very numerous, are mine. In about three weeks this work will be finished,‡ and then we print my History with the same letter.§

TO REV. JOSHUA TOULMIN.||

DEAR SIR,

Birmingham, May 12, 1789.

I RECEIVED from Mr. Lindsey, some time ago, a small volume, 12mo., of Mr. Cardale's devotional compositions. I will inclose it to Mr. Johnson, directed for you. I am glad that you are rescuing from oblivion the memory of so valuable a man.¶

* *Orig.* MS.

† Exeter.

‡ See I. 419.

§ *Orig.* MS.

|| Taunton.

¶ See *supra*, p. 19.

I annex our plan for a new translation of the Scriptures. Any assistance you can give us, with respect to any part of the Old or New Testament, will be thankfully received, and you may send them to Mr. Lindsey.

I am much obliged to you for the extract of the book from Holland. I shall examine it at my leisure. I shall soon begin to print my Church History. I beg my respects to Dr. Farr, and am glad to hear that you have got so valuable an addition to the circle of your acquaintance.*

TO REV. J. BRETLAND.†

DEAR SIR,

Birmingham, May 12, 1789.

A NUMBER of my philosophical friends having dined with me yesterday, I produced the black substance which you sent me, and we examined it. It appears to be a real coal, of that kind which burns without smoke or smell; and all agreed it is an encouraging circumstance to persevere in searching for coal of a more complete kind.

You will see by the annexed the plan of a translation of the Scriptures. My part is the *Hagiographa*. Mr. Dodson engages for the prophecies, Mr. Lindsey for the New Testament, and Mr. Frend for the historical books. But I mention this in confidence, as it is not intended that the names should be known. Mr. Dodson will write to Mr. Moore,‡ to engage his assistance. As we four were together, we chose to undertake for the whole, by ourselves or friends, rather than make any unnecessary delay in waiting for the concurrence of others.

It is reported that Mr. Kenrick§ inclines to Unitarianism, acknowledging that he finds no trace of the doctrine of pre-existence in the gospels, or book of Acts. Do you know whether this be true?||

* *Orig. MS.*

† *Exeter.*

‡ Of Leskiard, Cornwall, author of "Remarks upon Select Passages of the Old Testament," in "Commentaries and Essays." *Mcm. of Lindsey*, p. 179. See I. 395, note *.

§ See I. 368; *Mcm. of Lindsey*, pp: 304—307.

|| *Orig. MS.*

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.*

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, May 14, 1789.

I THANK you for the account of the business of Friday last,† and rejoice that it was so favourable to us. None of us, I imagine, expected that we should have a majority of votes. Mr. Fox must, I think, recover his popularity with the Dissenters, and Mr. Pitt must certainly lose ground with them. W. Vaughan says there were thirty new votes. If so, I should hope that we shall carry the point in the House of Commons the next time we apply.

I shall be glad to see the paper you talk of sending us, especially if it contain a good account of Mr. Pitt's speech, though I have no thought of animadverting upon it. I hope, however, that something will be written by some other person, (and, in my opinion, another letter to him would be as proper as any,) on the occasion.

Mr. Walker says he has sent me his MS. Travels to France. I shall be much obliged to you if you will inform him, by the penny post, (Mr. Adam Walker, George Street, Hanover Square,) that I have not received his MS., and wish that he would inquire about it.

I shall get the number of plans you want, printed the first opportunity, and send you them. I cannot by any means enter into your idea of absolute secrecy in this business, which, after all, if we apply for any assistance, cannot be kept secret. What is printed does not say that it is to be executed, and no names appear; and, in my opinion, much more good than harm will accrue from such reports as may be expected to get abroad on the subject. It will shew that we are in earnest, and will not put it into any man's power to frustrate the scheme.

If we expect to publish the work, and have it actually circulate, so as to be of any use, without its being pretty well

* Essex Street.

† The motion of Mr. Beaufoy, May 8, for the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts, lost by "Ayes 102, Noes 122." *N. An. Reg.* X. 141, 142. See W. X. 493; XV. 392.

known who are the principals, or at least that you and myself are concerned in it, we shall deceive ourselves. I have sent the plan to Mr. Bretland and Mr. Toulmin, and have no thought of sending to any body else at present; but I think Mr. Cappe should be informed of it, and his assistance, in some form or other, asked. That I leave to you. I only endeavour to get some assistance in the part that I have undertaken, but do not expect much.

You say nothing about Mr. Belsham and the academy, or the time of your visit to us.

P. S. I want two copies of my first and second paper lately printed* for the Philosophical Transactions, in order to the new edition of all my volumes of experiments. Perhaps Dr. Price and some other of my friends may spare their copies. Ask any of them that you happen to meet.†

TO THE EDITOR OF THE GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE.

MR. URBAN,

Birmingham, June 24, 1789.

I BEG leave, through the channel of your Magazine, to acquaint my friends and the public that I have seen the Bishop of St. David's new edition of his "Tracts in Controversy"‡ with me, and pledge myself to shew, in my "Defences of Unitarianism" for 1789, § that his "addition of supplemental Notes and Disquisitions" contain nothing more favourable to the doctrine of the Trinity, or more to his own advantage as a scholar, than his original *Letters to me*.||

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.¶

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, July 22, 1789.

THE time you and Mrs. Lindsey passed at Birmingham appears now as a pleasant dream, which I hope, however, will often be repeated, before we awake in a state where, I trust, we shall separate no more.

* See *supra*, pp. 3, 12.

‡ See W. XIX. 9, *note*.

|| *Gent. Mag.* LIX 488.

† *Orig. MS.*

§ W. IX. 9—52.

¶ *Essex Street.*

After the agreeable relaxation which you gave me, I have applied pretty closely to my different pursuits. To the article of Constantine I have added remarks on what Mr. Gibbon says of the causes of his conversion,* which, I think, you will not dislike. I shall read his History very carefully, as far as it coincides with mine, and shall add other remarks, if any occur.

In philosophy I have several experiments of particular consequence, especially relating to respiration.†

My wife continues pretty well. She is now at Barr, with Mrs. Galton, and I am about to go and dine and spend the evening with them. There I am to meet Mr. Berington,‡ and a relation of his, who is a bishop among the Catholics.

The disturbances in Paris, of which you will have heard, give us much uneasiness on account of William, who is in the very midst of them.

If you see Mr. Lee, give my particular respects to him and Mrs. Lee, and consult him about the propriety and practicability of dedicating to the Prince of Wales the new edition of my volumes of experiments.§

TO REV. JOSEPH BRETLAND.||

DEAR SIR,

Birmingham, July 25, 1789.

I AM glad to find that you continue to preach. I should have been very sorry to hear that you had declined it on any account.¶

I shall be thankful for any assistance you may be able to procure me in the translation of any part of the undertaking, but should have been better pleased if you had thought proper to undertake part of it yourself. There are too many of us who neglect our Hebrew. I imagine, however, you are better qualified in this respect than many others who would have made no difficulty of it.

I sincerely wish you much happiness in your new habita-

* See W. VIII. 327—331.

† See "Observations on Respiration. Read Feb. 25, 1790." *Phil. Trans.* LXXX. 106.

‡ See *Pref.* to "Disquisitions," (1782,) W. III. 245.

§ *Orig.* MS.

|| Exeter.

¶ See I. 191.

tion, but it is not at present very probable that I shall ever have the pleasure of seeing you in it.

My best respects to your good father.*

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.†

Birmingham, Aug. 14, 1789.

I rejoice in the account of your safe return to London, and that you and Mrs. Lindsey are so much better for your journey.

I have nearly completed the arrangement of the new edition of my philosophical works, and a friend of Mr. Keir's will mention to Mr. Fox the affair of the dedication. There is time enough for it; I am sorry, though, that you did not see Mr. Lee on the subject.

I thank you for your various articles of news, collected on your journey, and hope you will soon find something worth sending from London.

I am glad that Mr. Turner will assist us in translation. I have not seen Mr. Belsham, but hope he will assist us in my department; but when I have rid my hands of what is now upon them, I shall stick close to it.‡

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, Aug. 1789.

MR. BAKEWELL, of Burton-upon-Trent, has just breakfasted with me, and desired me to forward the inclosed petition to Lady Hewley's trustees. As Mr. Shore is one,§ I send it with my recommendation annexed, which, I am sure, will be strengthened by your own.

Mr. Belsham has been here, and tells me that Mr. Kenrick, of Exeter, is become an Unitarian,|| and thinks, that in consequence of it, it may be necessary for him to leave his congregation. But we both are of opinion he should not think of

* *Orig. MS.*

† Essex Street.

‡ *Orig. MS.*

§ See I. 61, *ad fin*; "Life of Calamy," II 146, 147 *note*.

|| See *supra*, p. 26.

doing it till he find his staying with them will be disagreeable to the congregation. At present he has only received an anonymous letter, complaining of his change of sentiment, which, he says, gave him pleasure, as a proof that he had spoken so as to be understood. He gave me other pleasing instances of the progress of Unitarianism that had come to his knowledge.

Mr. Bakewell says they shall introduce an Unitarian Liturgy, in the use of which several, now members of the Church of England, will join them; but I think, from his account, that much will not be done while their present minister is living. I was much pleased with Mr. Bakewell, who has both a philosophical and theological turn.

P. S. Get me, if possible, Dr. Horsley's Latin *prospectus*, and all his sermons not contained in the volume of controversy.*

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND, *Birmingham, Aug. 31, 1789.*

I have only Rigaltius's edition of *Tertullian*, which, I believe, is very common. If Mr. Hamilton† has it not, and wishes to see it, it is at his service.

My Letters to Dr. Horsley are now transcribed, and I wish to get them into your hands as soon as possible. But, as you will hardly be in town till the latter end of the week, I will keep them till I can send those to Mr. Barnard and Dr. Knowles along with them.

I know you will not like the Letters in their present state; but their asperities will be rubbed off, and many improvements may be introduced, before the time of publication. I could not well repress my indignation at the time of writing.

On Tuesday next I have agreed to set out for Castle-Head, with my daughter and Mr. Finch, and may stay three weeks. I wish, therefore, you would write to me there, and let me know what you think of my Letters in general. Particular remarks you may reserve till you return them after my return.

* *Orig. MS.*

† See *infra*, "July 6, 1790."

You will note what I say of his Newton, &c.,* and, if you can, get me the necessary authorities. I really think so insolent a writer should be exposed.

You must not expect any thing materially new in these Letters, and I think they will probably be my last Defence of Unitarianism.

You must not despair of yourself, though you perceive a failure in your memory. I do the same.† However, spare yourself. You will last the longer. I am far from being a close student. I never fatigue myself in the least, and generally could do twice as much as I do. But I, purposely, relax a little, as I advise you to do.

I have the translation much at heart, and doubt not we shall have a very good one. I thank you for the Letters. They are in Mr. Russell's hands, and to-morrow I shall send them to Mr. Tayleur.‡

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, Sept. 7, 1789.

YOU have made me very easy and happy by your approbation of my treatment of Dr. Horsley. Be assured, however, that it will be much improved before it go to the press.

Since I wrote last, I have added some Letters to Mr. Hawkins, which, I think, will close my pamphlet. I was in hopes to have sent you the whole; but there remains one letter to be transcribed, on the doctrine of the Trinity; though much will not remain to be said after what Mr. Clarke has addressed to him.§

There is something very particular in his case with respect to me. His patron is Bishop North, and he stands a good chance for great preferment. He courted my acquaintance almost as much as Mr. Badcock, and told me he had subscribed as articles of peace, and, if it had been to do again, he believed he should not do it. When I was writing my "History of Early Opinions," he procured me books from the cathedral library at Worcester.

* See W. XIX. 13, 14.

† See I. 345, 346.

‡ *Orig. MS.*

§ See W. XIX. 89, 97.

Mr. Galton has Horsley's edition of Newton; but I do not know how to get his Latin *prospectus*, except Mr. Cappe have it, which, I think, he said he had.

I propose on my journey to write my Address to the Bishops; though I shall not publish it till the year following. At my return, I shall have nothing to do but to sit down to translating.

I am glad to see the *Commentaries*,* and shall take it along with me. I shall send you some copies of the "History of Early Opinions," that you need not trouble Mr. Johnson about them.

We set out to-morrow morning, and I shall write when I get to Castle-Head. Direct to that place, near Lancaster.†

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND, *Castle Head, Sept. 21, 1789.*

I AM concerned at your frequent indispositions; but as you are subject to feverish complaints, I hope you will be able both to guard against them, and manage yourself better in them. I am glad to hear you are so well recovered from this last attack. I keep in very good health, and am the better for the journey and the exercise I have here.

We leave this place on Thursday, and propose to spend Sunday next at Manchester, in our way home; so that your next should be directed to Birmingham, where I hope to arrive in the middle of the next week.

I am much pleased that you do not dislike the Letters to Dr. Knowles and Mr. Hawkins. The other letter to the latter, which I had not time to get transcribed, and which relates to the doctrine of the Trinity, I am pretty sure will not displease you.

Having sufficient leisure in this place, I have written my Address to the Bishops, and at my return shall have it transcribed and sent to you, along with the third letter to Mr. Hawkins.

Having dispatched these little things, I shall sit down to the translation, which I have at heart more than any thing I ever

* See I 394, *ad fin.*

† *Orig. MS.*

undertook. If I was not sufficiently interested before, this Letter to the Bishop of Norwich,* (for which I thank you,) would have done it. His shameful conduct is well exposed, though the Letter is, in some places, rather obscure, as irony is apt to be. If he be capable of feeling, he must be miserable, as he deserves to be. I shall not forget this business in my Address to their Lordships. But what I have yet done is only a rough outline, such, however, as I wish to put into your hands before I proceed to finish it. For I wish to execute this piece with the greatest care, as I think it will close the controversy, and will, I hope, draw some attention.

I am sorry for the difference between Mr. Palmer and Mr. Robson, though not for the consequences of it, his† leaving Newcastle. I think you will do well to acquaint him with our scheme of translation, and ask his assistance. But, unless a person be stationary, and have access to books, he cannot do much. He may, however, assist by his remarks on particular passages. I hope we shall do without many more hands than are now engaged. We had better take another year than embarrass ourselves with intractable people.

I am concerned at the account you give me of the affairs of France. The courtiers here will triumph in it; but I hope the best, as the people in general are in favour of liberty, and the king cannot, I should imagine, find many to carry on a war.‡

TO THE EDITOR OF THE GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE.

MR. URBAN,

Birmingham, Oct. 5, 1789.

As it seems to be the wish of many of your readers to see every thing that could throw light upon the character and conduct of Mr. Badcock, especially as far as they respect myself, I send you a copy of one of his letters to me,§ as it gives the clearest idea of the state of his mind, not long before

* By Mr. Garnham. See *infra*. The bishop had declared "a new translation of the Scriptures to be unnecessary." See XXV. 194.

† Mr. Palmer's.

‡ *Orig.* MS.

§ Dated "Barnstable, Dec. 23, 1774," and annexed to the "Familiar Letters." See W. XIX. 533.

the termination of our correspondence, concerning which I shall have no objection to give you a few anecdotes, with candid remarks, upon a future occasion. The letter I now send was written in answer to one of mine, in which I had given him some account of what I had observed abroad.* I had also expressed, as I frequently did to him, my concern lest his ardour in the cause of truth should expose him to some inconvenience with his congregation.†

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.‡

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, Oct. 8, 1789.

I SEND you something for the Gentleman's Magazine, occasioned by Mr. Badcock in the last. If you see Mr. Nicholls, you may tell him it is not fair to publish letters of the dead§ respecting the living, unless he admit of replies, and that it is for his credit to be impartial.

At my return I found a letter from Mr. Tayleur, with a bill of £150, for the expenses of my Ecclesiastical History. I told him I apprehended it would be considerably too much, and that I should consult with you, and did not doubt we should dispose of the overplus to his satisfaction. How unboundedly generous Mr. Tayleur is! I may well afford to give my books, when they are paid for before-hand.

Before I took my journey, I ordered twenty-five copies of my "History of Early Opinions" to be sent to you. I am really desirous of giving a great part of the impression. I cannot consider them as my property, and only wish to place them where they may be of the most use.

You will be pleased to be informed, that at Manchester I met with two Unitarian street-preachers, men of good sense and great zeal, who had read hardly any thing besides the Bible; nothing of mine or yours. They are Baptists, fourteen in number, not more than two months' standing. One of them had been in Mr. Wesley's connexion. As they had hired a building for their meetings in the winter, and were at expense

* See I. 237—257.

† *Gent. Mag.* LIX. 871.

‡ Essex Street.

§ Badcock's, in which Dr. Priestley had been very freely censured.

in travelling to preach in the neighbouring towns, &c., I gave them five guineas. They are all working men. I was exceedingly pleased with their conversation. They told me of another society of the same kind in York, of sixty members, and others are forming in different places. Young Mr. Toulmin was with me, and gave them some of my small pieces, and I promised to send them other books. The name of one of them is John Laycock, and of the other, — Burton. Two others of their friends were also preachers. They spake with great fluency and propriety.*

* The late Mr. David Eaton, (see M. R. (N. S.) III. 357; *Christian Reformer*, XV. 196, 227, 345,) whom I have a pensive pleasure in recollecting, for his attachment to the progress of Christian truth and human improvement, as well as for our long-continued friendly intercourse, gave, in 1805, from his "own personal knowledge," an account of this interview. Referring to Dr. Priestley's "visit at Manchester," Mr. Eaton says,

"Far from being entirely engrossed by the rich and great, the attentions that were paid him, or the invitations which he received, he was employed in making strict inquiry into the state of religion in that populous town. Amongst the different sects and parties that were named, there was one described as highly dangerous, who denied Christ, &c. The doctor, from experience, being well acquainted with the language and prejudices of ignorant declaimers, who, without knowledge or inquiry, abuse every thing that is contrary to their own received notions, was only the more desirous of knowing their true character. He obtained the address of their leading man, and speedily dispatched a note, inviting him to come and see him the next morning.

"At the time appointed, John Laycock (the name of the person invited) made his appearance, and was very cordially received by the doctor, who learnt from their history, that they were a number of poor persons who had seceded from the Methodists on Unitarian principles, and were now using their best endeavours to make their sentiments known. This information could not but delight the doctor, who, it is well known, ardently desired and longed for the time when scriptural, rational views of religion should be received, and be propagated among the lower orders of society, by plain, popular preaching. After he had inquired into their numbers, mode of proceeding, place of meeting, &c., he declared himself highly gratified with the conversation; he praised their zeal; he exhorted them to exemplary conduct and steady perseverance; and, in conclusion, begged their acceptance of a ten-pound note towards fitting up their meeting-room." Mr. Eaton adds,

"This secret, but meritorious action, never likely to be known, and performed to a few poor persons, who were entire strangers to him, is no less an evidence of the doctor's ardent, disinterested love of truth, than of the intrinsic goodness of his heart." *Univer. Theol. Mag.* IV. 23. On "the society in York," see Mr. Eaton's "Narrative."

I think it will be right to ask the assistance of Mr. Garnham,* in translating some part of the Old Testament. If you approve of this, give my respects to him, and desire him to undertake *Proverbs* or *Ecclesiastes*. I rejoice to hear of the new edition of the Duke's pamphlet,† and of the progress you make in your second part of *Vindiciæ*.

I rejoice exceedingly in your account of Mr. Belsham and the academy. Dr. Barnes has eighteen pupils, five for the ministry. Mr. Harrison having resigned, he and a mathematical tutor do every thing. He cannot conceal his jealousy of Mr. Hawkes's Unitarian chapel, which I doubt not will answer very well in time. I preached there both parts of the day.

I am much better for my journey, and, they say, am getting flesh. I hope it will not make me idle.‡

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, Oct. 12, 1789.

To give you a better idea of Mr Wilberforce's peculiar, and, I may add, extraordinary reasons,§ for refusing us his vote for the abolition of the Test Act, I send you Mr. Simpson's letter, which gives an account of it. Please to return it.

I wish you would apply for me to Dr. Price or Mr. Morgan for such an opinion of Bishop Horsley's edition of Newton as I may safely quote; and when Mrs. Lindsey writes to Mrs. Cappe, I wish she would ask for the *prospectus* which Mr. Cappe once told me he either had, or could procure. I think to print in December, so as to publish in January. Mr. Dodson thinks that, as I cannot have any occasion to write any more *Defences*, my Address to the Bishops may soon follow this. But it will be better to defer it at least one year.

Mr. Marsom|| will be able to give you some account of the Unitarian Baptists at York; for they sent one of their number

* See I. 403, note †.

† See *infra*, "Feb. 26, 1790."

‡ *Orig.* MS.

§ In reply to an application from Dissenting ministers in Yorkshire.

|| Who still survives, to recommend, "in full age," those Christian principles to which he had uniformly devoted his life's activity.

to confer with him and his small society, at Mitcham, as those at Manchester told me.

I send you the minutes of our first meeting at Birmingham, which was conducted with perfect harmony. We meet again on Wednesday, Mr. Russell having copies to deliver to the several congregations, seven in all; then to have them printed.*

I wish you would send me, before Sunday next, a dozen of Mr. Toulmin, Junior's, "Addresses to the Unitarians attending Trinitarian Worship," and also a dozen copies of my "Address to Masters of Families."†

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, Oct. 21, 1789.

I SENT you, by Mr. Russell's parcel, the preface to my *Defences*, and the beginning of the Address to the Bishops. I wish you would at your leisure put down hints for it, and especially extracts from the sermons, &c., of late bishops, unfavourable to liberty and reformation. There are many things of this kind that I have not seen, especially Halifax's sermon before the House of Lords.‡ I also want all Bishop Horsley's sermons, except on the Incarnation, and the last before the Humane Society. These I have.

I have got the Westminster Magazine§ that I wanted. It contains some curious articles of Mr. Badcock's.

The Prince has given leave to dedicate my work to him, in the handsomest manner, saying, as I am informed, that he should think himself honoured by it. It was Mr. Fox that spoke to him about it. Please to return the Dedication|| with your freest remarks.

On Monday, Mr. Belsham called on me, and I was very happy to spend a good part of it with him. He confirmed every thing you had said of the pleasure he has in his prospects. As he will soon give his Lectures in Ecclesiastical History, I promised him the first volume of my work, which

* See *supra*, p. 4, note ¶.

† Orig. MS.

‡ See *supra*, p. 19.

§ Probably "for May 1774." See W. XIX. 536.

|| See *supra*, p. 3.

I now send. I mentioned to him my design of giving away a good part of the impression of the "History of Early Opinions," and in this he will assist me. The sooner they are disposed of, the better.

You will have seen what we have been doing here as Dissenters. It is all Mr. Russell's. He drew up the Resolutions and Letter; and by an admirable address, and conciliating manner, carried it through to universal satisfaction. Whatever he may say, I had no merit in the business, but that of approving and concurring. I inclose what we think proper for the papers, as you and Mr. Heywood* shall direct.

I had not heard of Mr. Watson's pamphlet, and wish you would send it me. I thank you for Mr. Lloft's.† All these things draw attention. Your account of the sermon of the Bishop of Peterborough is most curious. Mr. Belsham had heard of it, and will get me such an account as I may quote. I thank you for the sight of Mr. Turner's letter.‡

TO MR. ADAM WALKER.§

DEAR SIR,

Birmingham, Oct. 21, 1789.

I AM exceedingly mortified to find that we are not to have your Tour|| so soon as I hoped; but I would not have you by any means give up the idea of publishing it. You need not fear a sale, and you will oblige many of your friends and admirers.

I shall think myself greatly obliged to you for the rain-gage, and like much your plan in the construction of it. When I receive it, I shall write again. I am also glad to hear that your air-pump answers so well. When I come to London I shall have the pleasure of seeing it. In the mean time, I inclose a letter for a projector, whom I wish you would call upon with my compliments, and hear what he will think proper to

* Who wrote the "Protestant Dissenters' Right to a complete Toleration." Serjeant Heywood, who became one of the Welsh judges, died, 1828.

† "Observations on the first Part of Dr. Knowles's Testimonies from the Writers of the four first Centuries" See W. XIX. 90, *note*.

‡ *Orig.* MS.

§ George Street, Hanover Square.

|| See *supra*, p. 25.

say on the subject. It gives one pain to discourage ingenious men, especially if they be in low circumstances, and yet it is injuring them more to encourage them. Put a wafer into the letter before you deliver it.

I am printing a new and improved edition of all my six volumes of experiments, and hope to bring them to three. If you please, I will send them, volume by volume, as they are printed, rather than all together.

My son and brother-in-law were in Paris during all the great scene, so that I had very minute accounts of all that passed. There is indeed a glorious prospect for mankind before us. Flanders seems to be quite ripe for a similar revolution; and other countries, I hope, will follow in due time; and when civil tyranny is all at an end, that of the church will soon be disposed of. You saw what is now taking place in Flanders when you were there; but I hope the revolution will be less bloody than you then foreboded. Our court and courtiers will not like these things, and the bishops least of all.

Mrs. Priestley joins me in respects to Mrs. Walker and yourself.*

TO REV. JOSEPH BRETLAND.†

DEAR SIR,

Birmingham, Oct 24, 1789.

I SHALL soon send to the press my Defences of Unitarianism for this year. I reply to Bishop Horsley, Mr. Barnard, Mr. J. Knowles, and Mr. Hawkins. I take it for granted that this will be the last publication of the kind that I shall have occasion to make, as I see no prospect of any thing material coming out. I shall therefore close the controversy with an Address to the Bishops, &c., the next year. Let others then take it up. I have just heard by Mr. Lindsey that Mr. Watson has published an excellent Letter to the Bishop of St. David's. I have desired him to send it to me. I am glad that young men are so ready and so well qualified to exert themselves in the cause of truth. I hear of many that promise well.

* *Orig.* MS. among the late Mr. Parkes's *autographs*.

† Exeter.

Among the ministers Mr. Belsham's example has had a great effect, at least in lessening the confidence of some of the stoutest Arians. You had heard nothing of Mr. Kenrick's becoming a Unitarian, but I hear of it from other quarters, and believe it. If it be so, and he can keep his ground, would it not be better for the two congregations to separate? It is an awkward kind of connexion.

My Ecclesiastical History will hardly be out of the press before Christmas. As soon as it is printed I shall send you a copy. I am now sitting down to the business of translation, and shall stick to it all the winter.*

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.†

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, Oct. 29, 1789.

I THANK you for Mr. Garnham's letter, and still hope that he will undertake Ecclesiastes, as he seems to have no great objection to it. Give my compliments to him again, and request it of him. I perceive that he was the author of the Letter to the Bishop of Norwich.‡ I thank you for sending me the Letter to Bishop Horsley. It is clever; but it does not enter sufficiently into the argument.

I wish you would get for me, as opportunity may present, La Croze's *Hist. de Christianisme dans les Indes*; and Gavin's "Master Key to Popery," 4 vols. I much admire the former, which I have of yours. I see but few catalogues here, and never very early.

Is not the conduct of the Bishop of St. David's liable to censure, as a member of the Upper House, interfering in the election of the lower?§ What does Mr. Heywood say of it in this respect?

Mr. Russell is from home. When he returns I will deliver your message. If you could call on Mr. Nicholls, I wish

* *Orig. MS.*

† *Essex Street.*

‡ *See supra, p. 32.*

§ "For Carmarthen," by "a circular to the clergy of his diocese," dated "Aug. 24, 1789." See W. XIX. 46, *note*. This interference was censured by Fox. See his *Speeches*, (1815,) IV. 67; *N. An. Reg.* XI. 88.

you would hasten the copies of my last paper* for the Philosophical Transactions. Keep self a dozen, and send me the rest.†

TO REV. JOSEPH BRETLAND.‡

DEAR SIR,

Birmingham, Nov. 10, 1789.

I AM glad that you approve of the Psalms in the main. As to the particular passages you object to, I for my part think them sufficiently intelligible and just. The language of these things must be popular.

I thank you for what you have done in the Gentleman's Magazine. I thought it pertinent and useful. You will see what I have inserted in that publication of Mr. Badcock's, and think what you propose may be as proper as any thing from myself. You will see, however, that I intend to send something more to the same purpose.§

I gave no credit to the report of Mr. Badcock's having been the writer of White's Sermons, till I saw Dr. Gabriel's pamphlet.|| I see an answer is advertised, and shall hear both sides; but I think nothing very material *can* be alleged in Dr. White's favour.

Mr. Lindsey is preparing the second volume of his *Vindiciæ*, and I expect it will be out the next spring.

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.¶

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, Nov. 10, 1789.

I RECEIVED the MS. very safe the day after my last was sent off, and I thank you for your attention to it. I cannot say that I see the force of your reasons for not sending my packet to Mr. Nicholls.** However, I am not sorry that it is

* "Experiments on the Transmission of the Vapour of Acids through an hot earthen Tube, and further Observations relating to Phlogiston. Read July 2, 1789." *Phil. Trans.* LXXIX. 289.

† *Orig.* MS.

‡ Exeter.

§ See *supra*, pp. 32, 33.

|| "Facts relating to the Rev. Dr. White's Bampton Lectures." See W. XVIII. 276.

¶ Essex Street.

** Probably, in reference to the complaint, *supra*, p. 33.

delayed another month, and have no objection to your striking out of my letter all that respects the serious letters, and the application to Mr. Wesley. (On second thoughts I will write it over again.)* As to those people who object to my frequent publications, they are not worth considering at all. To please *them* I must write nothing, and, if possible, undo all that I have done.

I am sorry you have not time to read my History. I have taken some pains to render the tedious reign of Constantine less heavy, by dividing it into many sections, and have made some strictures on Gibbon,† which you have not seen. We shall finish about Christmas, or sooner.

On the fifth of November I preached a sermon on the Corporation and Test Acts, which I am much importuned to print. I think to do it in a small form, to circulate in the country. My text is 1 *Cor.* vii. 21.‡

I rejoice much in your account of Dr. Price's discourse,§ and shall be impatient to see it in print. Many Dissenters know nothing of their principles, and are wholly destitute of zeal for them, so that I do not wonder at the censure that has fallen upon him. I, myself, gave more offence to many Dissenters than to the members of the Church of England, by my writings on the subject formerly.

I am very glad that you have succeeded in getting me Horsley's *prospectus*. I now only want an opinion of a mathematician, of the merit of his Commentary on Newton, such as I may quote.|| I have just read Gabriel's *Facts*. Before I had, I could not have believed the story. He¶ can never hold up his head again.**

* See *infra*, p. 44.

† See *supra*, p. 27.

‡ See W. XV. 389.

§ "On the Love of our Country, delivered Nov. 4, 1789, at the Meeting-house in the Old Jewry, to the Society for Commemorating the Revolution in Great Britain." Some passages in this discourse excited the vituperative eloquence of Burke, who was not prepared, like Price, as described by Dr. Knox, to "espouse the cause of freedom, and prefer the happiness of millions to the pomp and pride of a few aspirants at unlimited dominion." See W. XX. 501; "Spirit of Despotism," (1795,) p. 70.

|| See W. XIX. 14.

¶ Dr. White.

** *Orig.* MS.

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND,

Heath, Nov. 18, 1789.

HAVING a little leisure, I cannot employ it more agreeably to myself than in writing to you.

It was very fortunate that Mr. Frend met my son at Frankfurt. He is very happily situated in an agreeable family, and with agreeable acquaintance, particularly a Mr. Miles, who, he says, is uncommonly civil to him, from his respect to me. I do not know him, but Mr. Frend does, and was to send him some of my publications.

A new antagonist has announced himself, and almost as unexpectedly as Mr. Badcock. It is Mr. H. Croft, the compiler of the new Dictionary of the English Language, who has often called upon me, and written to me on that subject, and to whom I gave a quantity of materials which I had collected for a large work on the structure and present state of our language, when I was at Warrington.*

In a very civil letter, he informs me that he is "reprinting a book against the Socinians of the last age, corrected in the way he means to correct the quotations in his Dictionary, and that to this he subjoins a letter to me, which he hopes will be in time to be noticed in my Christmas publication." I am very glad that he has made choice of this kind of book, as it may draw some more attention on the subject. His own views, I suspect, are preferment. I had always considered him as a mere *belles-lettres* man.

I have sent a part of my *Defences* to the press. There are many important additions, which, I hope, you will not dislike. I shall send you the sheets as I have opportunity. I want the opinion on Horsley's *Newton*, about which I wrote to Dr. Price; but have had no answer.

Mr. Russell would send you my sermon. I hope you will find it plain, and not violent. Mr. Heywood has sent us a most excellent pamphlet, which must by all means be published, but will not be proper to be done here, as it will be

* See I. 46.

ascribed to me, and will be considered as personal, with respect to Mr. Pitt.

I sent you two copies of the History, that you might send one to Dr. Heberden, or any other friend. I am glad that you and he like it. It will encourage me to proceed, though I shall suspend a year at the least.

P. S. If Mr. Russell send copies of my sermon enow, send in my name to Mrs. Rayner, Mr. Dodson, Dr. Price, Dr. Kippis, Mr. Belsham, Mr. Salte, Mr. Radcliffe, and my friends in general.*

TO REV. THOMAS BELSHAM.†

DEAR SIR,

Birmingham, Nov. 18, 1789.

I REJOICE exceedingly at the accounts I hear from several quarters of your reception in the Academy, and the prospect it affords of your being eminently useful there. I hope it will long continue and increase. You will make me happy by informing me occasionally how you go on.

You were so good as to promise to procure for me, if you could, a correct account of what the Bishop of Peterborough (I think it was) said on the subject of the Trinity at Daventry.‡ I have a very convenient place for noticing it in my *Defences* for the present year, which I have sent to the press, so that there is no time to lose. If I do not hear from you on the subject, I shall give the best account I can recollect from your conversation;§ and the opinion was so very singular, that I think there could not be any great danger of mistaking it.

In these *Defences* I notice Bishop Horsley, Mr. Barnard, Dr. Knowles, and Mr. Hawkins. Another, however, has just announced himself, requesting to be noticed, Mr. H. Croft, of Oxford, compiler of the Dictionary of the English Language. His letter to me is only now going to the press.

I sent you the first and part of the second volume of my History. I hope to finish in about a month. In the second

* *Orig.* MS.

† See *supra*, p. 37.

‡ New College, Hackney.

§ See *infra*, pp. 47, 48.

part you will see, I flatter myself, some new light thrown on the history of Arianism.

I am much obliged to you for your reference to Mr. Palmer's remarks on distinctions in the Deity. I have quoted almost the whole of it, but have subjoined some remarks on the indwelling scheme.*

I have printed a sermon preached on the fifth of November on the Corporation and Test Acts, of which Mr. Lindsey will send you a copy.†

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.‡

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, Nov. 25, 1789.

I HAVE received the parcel very safe, and thank you for your care of the particulars. I observe, however, that you in London often see things in a very different light from us in the country, and you do not sufficiently consider that, large as London is, the country is larger. You look upon such a publication as the *Gentleman's Magazine* with contempt, and think a man disgraced by writing in it; but it does not appear so here, and we think it a great convenience (of which much use may be made) to have access to a place in which we are sure to meet with our opponents, and can write what will be read by literary persons, and be preserved. We, therefore, think it good policy to make that use of it, and to keep the editor in good humour, and engage his impartiality by proper civility.

I own that I partake much of the sentiments of country readers, and have no idea of being disgraced by any thing that answers a good purpose. To comply with your opinion, I shall for the present not send the letters to the *Magazine*, though I feel no conviction from your reasons. The papers you have, about the apparition are not worth sending to Mr. Wesley. They are the others, more serious ones, relating to his setting out on his religious career,§ that it might import him to see.

* See W. XIX. 102—104.

† Essex Street.

‡ *Orig. MS.*

§ See W. XXV. 326—329.

I thank you for the various and valuable information contained in the letters you have sent me, and shall return them the first opportunity. Mr. Garnham is a valuable part of our corps, as, I hope, Mr. Frend will also be.

We shall not fail to print Mr. Heywood's pamphlet, though not as by our Committee. When we shall have printed my Letters to Bishop Horsley, which is the first part of my *Defences* this year, I shall stop the press for that. It is now in the hands of the printer.

The other piece, I perceive, is Dr. Aikin's. I know his hand-writing. I like it much; but think it rather extraordinary that he should write in this strain, as he was one that was most offended at my former publications of the same kind. At that time there was a violent cry against me in Lancashire. I shall write to Ben Vaughan about Horsley's *Newton*.

I have put Mr. Dodson's *Isaiah* into the hands of Mr. Hawkes. I think I shall like it much; but I do not like his inserting the passage concerning John the Baptist,* merely because he takes it for granted that the quotation of the Old Testament in the New must be accurate; and I wondered at his supposing that our Saviour's walking before his sepulchre should be the subject of prophecy.† But these are trifles.

The two pamphlets, for which I thank you, are poor indeed. However, I think to reply to them (anonymous) in our small tracts. I wish we could be sure that they were from the Bishop of Salisbury. Pray who is he, as also the Bishop of Peterborough?

I expect my wife on Friday. I feel very solitary.‡

* Dr. Priestley refers, I apprehend, to Mr. Dodson's note on *ch. xl.*, where he says,

"As we have the irrefragable authority of John the Baptist, and of our blessed Saviour himself, for explaining the exordium of the prophecy of the opening of the gospel by the preaching of John, and of the introducing of the kingdom of the Messiah, why should we not be satisfied that the exordium of the prophecy hath no other object than these?" *New. Trans.* p. 275.

† Transferring the beginning of *ch. lvii.* to *liii. 10*, Mr. Dodson thus translates the concluding passage: "He shall arise from his bed, walking before it, although his sepulchre is sealed." *Ibid.* pp. 117, 118, 124.

‡ *Orig. MS.*

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, Nov. 29, 1789.

I AM glad that you liked my sermon, in which I wished to say nothing violent, such as some people would expect from *me*. In my animadversions on the Letters to the Dissenters at Devizes, I shall say some stronger things; but in this my name will not appear. Dr. Aikin's piece and mine will probably make our second number.

I will send you and Mr. Belsham copies of the Letters to Horsley. A good deal is added since you saw them; but as every thing is in the same spirit, I hope you will not disapprove them. I have made the longest additions to the Letters to Mr. Hawkins; and those, I am pretty confident, you will not dislike.

Mr. Morgan has an idea of something much more than I want, which was nothing more than an opinion in one or two sentences, such as I could justify, if it should be necessary. However, that part is now printed, and I have said so little, that I fancy I am in no danger of having said too much.

I am obliged to Mr. Lloft for his good opinion; but there is no *hero* among us besides yourself. We only *talk* and *write*, which is a very easy business, compared with what you have *done*. Does he intend to say any thing more to Dr. Knowles?*

In less than a month I hope to send you the remainder of my History, the index to which is now in hand. My philosophical work† will, I hope, be finished before my usual time of visiting the metropolis.

You said you would write to Mr. Cappe about our translation of the Scriptures. If you did, what answer did he give? Will he do any thing? As I believe he is a pretty good Hebrician, perhaps he would undertake some part of the Old Testament; but if we wait another year, we are enow. I have made a beginning of the Psalms. There is rather more to do than I expected, but this will only make me labour the more at it.

* See *supra*, p. 37.† See *supra*, p. 36.

Mr. Bretland says that Mr. Reynell, at Hackney College, has papers of his great uncle's, that may be of use in our translation. If you see Mr. Belsham, tell him I will write to him when I send him the Letters to Bishop Horsley, towards the end of this week. There is an awkward *erratum* in my sermon, "advocates," for *adversaries*. This will be noticed in the copies that are not yet sent out.

I long much to see Dr. Price's sermon, I hear so much of it from all quarters. I hope it will come soon. I rejoice that the cause of liberty seems to go on so well in Brabant and Flanders. I hope the Emperor will let them alone, and pursue his advantage against the Turks, in which I rejoice also.*

TO REV. T. BELSHAM.†

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, Dec. 4, 1789.

I REJOICE exceedingly in the very promising state of things in the College, and doubt not but that it will improve more and more. To you, who contribute so essentially to it, it will be an abundant reward. I hope that your reading the New Testament along with the senior class is with the knowledge and approbation of Dr. Rees, as every possible cause of offence should be avoided.

I had an account of the answers to my History of Corruptions, in Holland, at the time,‡ and was promised a more particular account when they should be published; but my correspondent is since dead. What Mr. Vaneffen§ proposes will certainly be very agreeable to me. It might perhaps answer very well to publish translations of all the pieces. This is what I should wish most of all; and if you have any communication with Mr. Vaneffen, I should be glad if you would inform him of my wishes in this respect.

I thank you for the account of the Charge of the Bishop of Peterborough, (who is he?)|| and shall notice it in the preface

* *Orig. MS.*

† New College, Hackney.

‡ See *supra*, p. 24; "Remarks on the Prize Dissertations against Dr. Priestley, particularly on the Dissertation of Professor C. Segaar. By Paulus Samosatenus." *Analyt. Rev.* (1790,) VI. 557.

§ A Dutch gentleman, then residing in Hackney.

|| Dr. Hinchcliffe.

to my *Defences*,* part of which, relating to Bishop Horsley, I send you. As I wish to be well guarded in what I say to this antagonist, I wish for your keenest eye over it. The rest will be printed, if all be well, before Christmas. In about a fortnight I hope to send you the remainder of my Ecclesiastical History; and as I shall not publish it till some time after that, I wish you would note any *errata*, or other mistake that may occur to you in reading it.

I thank you for disposing of the copies of my "History of Early Opinions;" and hope you will, as you have opportunity, dispose of more sets as well.

I long much to see Dr. Price's sermon. Mr. Lindsey tells me it is translating into French. I inclose a copy of my sermon, with a sad *erratum* corrected.

As they may amuse you, I inclose the letters of my deceased correspondent.† Return them at your leisure, or keep them till I see you.‡

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.§

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, Dec. 4, 1789.

I SEND, but with fear and trembling, my Letters to Bishop Horsley, as many things are added since you saw them. However, I have done my best. The mottos|| you will disapprove; but Mr. Hawkes and Mr. Berington like them; and as this is probably the last, the whole will now in that respect be uniform. Nothing is so vague as taste. If the argumentative part be right, the rest signifies but little. No two men see other things in the same light; and every man's own taste in these things changes. I am sure mine often does, and in a short time.

As to my History, I am sure I attend more to the style than I used to do in my former publications; so that, if it be faulty in this respect, I cannot help it. I never used to read the proofs from the press more than once, now I read them as

* W. XIX. 6.

† Perhaps Badcock.

‡ *Orig.* MS.

§ Essex Street.

|| From *Buchanani Franciscanus*. See W. XIX. 9.

carefully as I can, twice. As to the authorities, I also used my best judgment, and never spared my labour, except where it would have been thrown away, and therefore might be better employed. If I pursue the History, it must be less from original writers, because I neither have them, nor can I possibly get them. But no history of any extent can be written strictly from originals. A man must confine his views to a small compass, indeed, if he do that; and yet there are many useful compilations. One of Church History is particularly wanted.

You raise my curiosity to the highest pitch about Dr. Price's sermon.

Mr. Croft's printed letter* is not controversial, but complimentary, and, on that account, not politic. It requires no notice at all. We are printing Mr. Heywood's tract. I have corrected one sheet, the same form, &c., with my *Defences*.

The principal clergyman in this town has been preaching against the repeal of the Test Act, &c. The Committee of the Dissenters will request him to print his sermon.†

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND, *Birmingham, Dec. 10, 1789.*

I AM much revived by your letter. I am glad that you do not dislike the additions to the Letters to Bishop Horsley. I have no doubt of your approving the additions to the Letters to Mr. Hawkins.

If you see Mr. Belshan, I wish you would desire him not to shew my History to any body, till the cancelled leaves be reprinted; except Dr. Price should ask for it.

Last night I received and read his sermon. It is, indeed, most excellent. I was moved, even to tears, towards the conclusion. His friends need be under no apprehension. The court will be galled, but they will never hurt him. I hope it will be reprinted in a cheap form, to distribute through the country. If you see him, do mention this to him. It may have as great an effect as his tract on Civil Liberty.‡ Now is the

* See *supra*, p. 42.

† *Orig.* MS.

‡ See I. 289, 290.

time to speak out without any fear, both on civil and religious subjects, while the advocates for tyranny are overawed.

As you think my shoulders pretty broad, and used to bear a good deal, you load me with every thing. As to mentioning the translation, I dare say I have no more to charge myself with than others. I have only mentioned to a few, whom, with your consent, I wished to engage, except a few particular friends, chiefly here, who promised not to speak of it again, and I do not think that they have. However, I told you it would be impossible to keep it a secret, and I see no inconvenience at all, but an advantage, in all that you say has transpired about it. You see the thing in a different light, but that cannot be helped. When I proposed a year, I did not really expect that it would be dispatched so soon. Another year will do very well.*

TO REV. J. BRETLAND.†

DEAR SIR,

Birmingham, Dec. 19, 1789.

I AM inclined to think that Mr. Watson is not the author of the "Letter to the Bishop of St. David's," but rather the person you allude to, whose name I do not now recollect. Mr. Lindsey thought it best not to send my letter to the Gentleman's Magazine, so that it may not be amiss to send yours. I may write to more advantage some time hence, if it be necessary.

I have no person to recommend to the place you mention. You had better write to Mr. Belsham about it. I have heard nothing farther about the Unitarian street-preachers.‡

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.§

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, Jan. 22, 1790.

THERE is no end of the trouble I give you. You would receive by the coach twelve more copies of the *Defences*, with directions for more presents, I must now desire you to add to them Mr. Jeffries, Mr. S. Palmer, Hackney, and Mr. W. Wil-

* *Orig.* MS.

‡ *Orig.* MS. See *supra*, pp. 33, 34.

† Exeter.

§ Essex Street.

kinson; also to get me from Payne's Catalogue, "Gavin's Master-Key to Popery," 3 vols., "Oriental Tales," Botarelli's Dictionary, if it be the latest edition, *De la Croix*, 3 vols. But look at it, and see if it be a good thing. If it be the *De la Croix* who wrote the history I have of you, it must be a good work.

I have just received the packet you gave to Johnson, for which I am much obliged to you. That from Mr. Lloft contained his Remarks on Dr. Knowles.* I have almost read the Letter to the Bishop of Chester. It is very well done. The body of the clergy seem to be more orthodox than they were in the last reign, and more bigotted. We see what a court and an establishment can do. But, though we fight under great disadvantage, we must not be discouraged. Truth is stronger than all.

The clergy here have appointed a meeting of all the clergy in the diocese, to oppose the Dissenters' application. They will, probably, do something violent, and expose themselves; but they are very inveterate. When we see in how many cases reason has no effect at all, we cannot wonder at the slow progress of Christianity.

P. S. I had sent 50 copies of *Defences* to Oxford; but you will see our bookseller† is broken, and nobody will sell them. I shall soon order them to London.‡

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND, *Birmingham, Jan. 27, 1790.*

I THANK you for your disposal of my presents of *Defences*, especially to Mr. Garnham, and of "the History of Early Opinions."

In White§ is *Histoire du Clergé*, &c., 4 vols. I wish you would look at it. I imagine, however, it is *Hermant*,|| concerning which Mr. Berington says he knows nothing. You will soon

* "Observations on the first Part of Dr. Knowles's Testimonies, from the Writers of the Four First Centuries." See W. XIX. 90 note.

† Hinton. See I. 406, 407.

‡ Orig. MS.

§ Catalogue.

|| "L'Abbé Hermant," died, 1725, aged 75. *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* (1789) IV. 454.

see whether it be a work of value.* I wish to be well prepared for the continuation of my Church History, though I shall not sit down to it till after we have done the translations.

I do not suppose that Bishop Horsley will feel much from my animadversions; as I do not suppose he will read them. But I do not write for *him*, or such as he is.

We are printing Dr. Aikin's tract,† to which I have subjoined (anonymous) some remarks on the two Letters to the Delegates at Devizes. I hope you will not dislike them. Mr. Russell and I think it will be better for the delegates from the country not to meet in London this year, but to reserve themselves for some greater occasion, only to be in readiness when called for. In the mean time our union will be perfecting, and our strength increasing. Our exertions have not, I hope, been without their effect with you, as well as in other parts of the country.

The clergy and Tory friends of the establishment are meeting in many places to oppose us. They will certainly do something violent, of which a good advantage may be taken. I have some thoughts, if they do any thing of this kind, to write an expostulatory address *to* them, not *for* them.‡

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, Feb. 11, 1790.

I THOUGHT Dr. Heberden's name had been upon the list of presents. Send it by all means. You must mean him, though you do not name him. Also send the *Defences* to Dr. Williams, of Sydenham. He sent me the anecdote about the Welsh Dissenting schoolmaster.§ I hope you will make presents, in my name, wherever you think I ought, without writing to me about it. I am apt to be inattentive.

I am far from being discouraged with respect to the business of the Test Act, &c.; though I do not expect that we shall succeed this session, or perhaps this reign; but there is

* “*Les erreurs et les inexactitudes*” of Hermant are admitted by his biographer. *Ibid.*

† See *supra*, p. 45.

‡ *Orig. MS.*

§ Horsley was reported to “have refused to ordain any person educated in the school of a Dissenter.” See W. XIX. 45.

no time for me to do any thing more, before the discussion in the House. What is done now must be done by persons on the spot; and I am glad to find there is no want of good writers.

I send my letter to Mr. Vaughan, open, that you may see some curious specimens of the bigotry of the people in this place. All arises from the encouragement given by the court, and, notwithstanding what we talk, and I believe, of the increasing light of the age, great numbers who will not read are no better than the partizans of Sacheverel, and would think it a glorious thing to extirpate the Dissenters. I am amused with the idea of Mr. Fox having been mentioned in my pulpit.

A clergyman of this town, a very popular man, has addressed a printed letter to me,* and I think to take some notice of it, as I find it is much read, and some may read what I shall say to him who will read nothing else of mine.

P. S. I hope the *Defences* were sent to Mr. Dodson.

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND,

Feb. 26, 1790.

I RETURN the letters you were so good as to send for my perusal. They have given me much pleasure. Notwithstanding some appearances of darkness in the atmosphere, I think that, on the whole, the face of things is very promising. I send, also, a letter I had from Mr. Robinson, in answer to mine, inviting him to preach our charity sermon, as I think it will please you. His desertion of orthodoxy, and Mr. Belsham's of Arianism, are great triumphs, and, I doubt not, stagger many.

I told you of a local controversy with a very popular clergyman in this town, which I could not well avoid. I send you a few copies of my Letters on the occasion, which you will give as you think proper, not forgetting Mrs. Rayner, whom it may amuse for an evening. I am much pleased with all her verses, as well as with every thing else that she does. I rejoice that she retains so much spirit, and so cheerful a disposition as these pretty verses shew, at her time of life. May she

* See *supra*, p. 5.

retain them to the last, and long! I begin to think with pleasure of our approaching interview in Titchfield Street. More agreeable hours I do not wish to spend than many that I have spent there.

Would Mr. Belsham object to publishing the sermon he delivered at your place, together with that excellent one you heard from him in Leather Lane?*

Since I wrote this, Mr. Walker, of Nottingham, is come, in order to arrange matters for the meeting at Tamworth, to-morrow, and I must spend the day with him.

The spirit of party here is astonishing. Mr. Russell says, measures are taken to ring the bells and illuminate the town, on the expected event of Tuesday next; and, in that case, we apprehend the mob will be instigated to do mischief. We think to apply to Mr. Garbett, Mr. Boulton, and a few others, to prevent it.

I am glad to hear of the intention to answer the two bishops, with respect to the *Hints*.† That from Horsley‡ is most impudent. How he mentions Mr. Wakefield!§

* "At the ordination of his friend and pupil, the Rev. Edmund Butcher." *Mem. of Lindsey*, pp. 291, 292.

† "Hints, &c., submitted to the serious Attention of the Clergy, Nobility, and Gentry, newly associated. By a Layman, [the Duke of Grafton,] a Friend to the True Principles of the Constitution in Church and State, and to Religious and Civil Liberty. Ed. 2, revised, with Additions. 1789." See *N. An. Reg.* X. 231, 232.

Annexed are "Some Observations on the Church Liturgy, or the Scruples of a Country Curate," which appeared in the *Gent. Mag.* 1737. They relate chiefly to the offices of baptism and the burial of the dead."

These "Observations" were attributed to "Rev. David Hughes, Fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge, a man of great modesty, liberality, and knowledge of the Scriptures." See "Considerations on the Expediency of Revising the Liturgy and Articles. By a Consistent Protestant," (1790,) p. 33.

‡ To whom Dr. Priestley here attributes, as "supposed by Mr. Wakefield, among others," the anonymous "Apology for the Liturgy and Clergy of the Church of England, in Answer to a Pamphlet entitled Hints, &c." But "the supposition was contradicted from authority, as it appeared in the public papers." *Mon. Rev.* III. 13. See also *Analyt. Rev.* VII. 81.

The other pamphlet, also anonymous, was entitled, "A Vindication of the Doctrines and Liturgy of the Church of England." Both were examined in the "Considerations." *Supra*. See *Mem. of Wakefield*, I. 326, 327.

§ *Orig. MS.* Having introduced "the egregious Dr. Symonds," and his

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND, *Birmingham, March 11, 1790.*

A RIDE I took to Heath has prevented my writing sooner, notwithstanding several very acceptable letters from you.

“Observations upon the Expediency of Revising the present English Version of the Four Gospels, and of the Acts of the Apostles,” among “the attempts to recommend an improved translation of the Bible,” he proceeds to censure “the modern History-Professor,” because “of Dr. Priestley and another man, who answers to the name of Wakefield, he speaks with applause.” *Apol.* pp. 72, 73.

Of Mr. Lindsey the Apologist says, (p. 34,) “The reverend gentleman, in hopes of restoring ‘the truth of the Divine unity, now almost lost beyond recovery,’ has opened a shop in Essex Street, where he retails his new discoveries in divinity to all who are disposed to come and buy.”

In 1794, Dr. Symonds published “Observations upon the Expediency of Revising the Present English Version of the Epistles in the New Testament; to which is prefixed, a Short Reply to some Passages in a Pamphlet entitled *An Apology, &c.*” He says,

“Those who are unacquainted with my former essay, would possibly conclude that I had employed a page or two in a panegyric on Dr. Priestley; whereas I mentioned his name but twice, and then merely on the article of style, without the least reference to points of doctrine. I am an utter stranger to Dr. Priestley, and to almost all his theological works, except his *Harmony of the Gospels*, which the nature of my undertaking led me to consult, and in which, indeed, I found so many passages in our present version improved in respect to the language, that I freely confess I should have cited more of them if they had come within the plan of my remarks. If a late good Archbishop did not disdain to request an avowed Socinian to pray for him, shall I be debarred from shewing, (p. 72,) that Dr. Priestley has placed in its true light a very important passage in St. Luke’s Gospel, which had been misunderstood, or, at least, misrepresented by King James’s translators? But it seems that it is a daring impiety in me to commend Dr. Priestley, even where commendation is justly due.

“But if I be liable to censure for having commended Dr. Priestley in my Essay, how shall I stand acquitted of a much more heinous charge, to which I freely acknowledge I have been long exposed in my public character? For ever since his *Lectures upon History* were published, I have constantly recommended them to the young students of our university as the best book in its kind which had fallen within my observation; and though I may dissent from the doctor in a few particulars, which must unavoidably happen amidst such a variety of matter, yet I should have deserved worse treatment than I received from the Apologists, if I had witholden my approbation of so judicious and useful a work.

“In regard to Mr. Wakefield, I had never seen him when I wrote my

With this you will receive a Second Letter to the Inhabitants of Birmingham. A first you would have before. They gain a good deal of attention, and the more, I perceive, by a mixture of pleasantry, which I fear you will not like. My Letters to Mr. Burn were thought too serious and angry.

I was very unwilling to have any controversy with the clergy in this town; but as they have been the aggressors, (especially in their mutilated *extracts* from my preface to Mr. Burn,* an exact copy of which you will see in Woodfall's Diary,) I shall now keep the ball up, and not do it by halves. However, as I do not publish all at once, I can desist whenever I please. I have two more letters composed, and intend a third, which will probably close the whole. After this, if it be thought worth while, I can publish an improved edition of the whole. Please to send Mrs. Rayner copies of them, as they may serve to amuse her.

I am glad to find that the second part of your *Vindiciæ* is in such forwardness. I hope that by the time of my coming to London it will be finished. I have no doubt of its doing much good, like the former part.

I thank you for your account of the proceedings in the

Essay, nor any of his works, except his Commentary on St. Matthew's Gospel, and a few philological tracts; but these afforded such proofs of the elegance of his taste, and extent of his learning, that they convinced me of his right to lay claim to a very high rank in the republic of letters. It is unnecessary, however, to defend Mr. Wakefield, who is much more able to plead his own cause. I shall only add, that since he professes to have derived some assistance from my observations, imperfect as they may be, I feel little pain from the venom of our Apologists. I would rather even be traduced than praised by writers of their temper and judgment." *Pref.* pp. xxii—xxvi.

The "avowed Socinian" was Lardner, and the "late good Archbishop" Secker, whose letter to Lardner, in 1768, (*Life*, p. xcii.) is quoted in a note.

* See W. XIX. 137, 138, 172, 173. This base attempt to prejudice the cause of the repeal was presently exposed in a short pamphlet, entitled, "An Appeal to the Common Sense and Common Honesty of every Inhabitant of Birmingham, respecting the Passages extracted from the Preface to Dr. Priestley's Letters to the Rev. Edward Burn, and sent to the Bishops and Members of the House of Commons, previous to the Debate on the Repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts." See *Analyt. Rev.* VI. 569.

House.* By all account, the arguments were in our favour, and to this every thing must eventually give way.† I think remarks on all the speeches would be an useful publication. I may, perhaps, do it in my Familiar Letters, if I should continue them. Mr. Pitt certainly said nothing to any purpose, and Mr. Burke's conduct, I think, best accounted for by his leaning towards the court, and not to Popery. Mr. Fox has either read very little indeed, or his compliments to Mr. Burke were very extravagant. Mr. Hawkes says that Mr. Burke was very little attended to. Next to him sat Mr. Burn, who, on your going out, took your seat.

Mr. B. Vaughan tells me of an appeal to the people of England. This is not, surely, to come from the London committee.‡ It should be reserved for the national meeting of the Dissenters.

P. S. With this you will receive a copy of a letter, which I address to the members of the House of Commons, and the bishops, to all of whom the extracts were sent.§ I hope you will not dislike it. I made it as short as I could.||

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND, *Birmingham, March 12, 1790.*

I TROUBLE you again with a parcel, containing some copies of my Letters to Mr. Burn, &c., to be disposed of as you think proper. Please to deliver one, with the Familiar Letter, and

* March 2nd, on Mr. Fox's motion for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, which was negatived by 294 against 105. See W. XIX. 169.

† As Dr. Priestley confidently expected, "from the increasing liberality of the age, the progress of which all the clergymen in England can no more put a stop to than they can prevent the sun, after he has risen, from ascending to his meridian altitude." *Ibid.*

This decision immediately produced from the pen of Mrs. Barbauld, "An Address to the Opposers of the Repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts;" pronounced by Dr. Parr to be "one of the best-written compositions in the English language." The fourth edition (1790) is now before me. See Barbauld's *Works*, (1825,) II. 353.

‡ From whom, however, it came, "May 14." See *Gent. Mag.* LX. 472, 566.

§ See W. XIX. 371, 539.

|| *Orig. MS.*

Letter to the Members of Parliament, to Dr. Heberden, whose letter about Theodosius, &c.,* I send.

Mr. Cooper† is here. I dine with him to-day at Mr. Russell's. I find by him that a plan is proposed for a kind of representation of the Dissenters in London. I wish it may give satisfaction, and at the same time have real effect. Mr. Walker is expected too, and then we shall talk over every thing about it. I do not know what to say to it at present.

The high-church party have behaved with unexpected moderation here, but not so, I hear, at Manchester, where they are uncommonly abusive and insolent. The same spirit exists here; but I think some wiser heads restrain it. On the day the news arrived of the event of Tuesday's debate, they began to ring at all the churches; but soon ceased, and there was no illumination. At Warwick they rung all day, but no mischief was done. The church people in general think that we shall now be quiet, and give them no trouble a long time. When they find the contrary, they will be much chagrined.‡

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, March 14, 1790.

I TOOK it for granted that Mr. Russell had sent you a considerable number of my Familiar Letters, No. 1; and as you took no notice of them, I concluded that you did not approve of the manner in which they were written. I am, therefore, exceedingly rejoiced that you like them so well; and, as I propose to continue them some time, I hope to give you more pleasure of the same kind. Both my antagonists are about to reply; but you will not suppose that I am under much apprehension about it. It is said that the Bishop of London§ thanked Mr. Burn for his services to the good cause.

I send, as I know it will please you, the letter of thanks from my late class, written, and I dare say composed, by Mr. Chambers. It inclosed a draft for 50 guineas; and though I

* The calumny, by Dr. Withers. See W. XIX. 290.

† Then of Manchester, whose name has so often occurred in the notes.

‡ *Orig. MS.*

§ *Porteus.*

was far indeed from wishing, or expecting any thing, I cannot well return it. In my new class, which never attended a course before, I have already forty-six, and shall, no doubt, have more.

I have three more Familiar Letters transcribed for the third number, on Toleration and Church Establishments, but I purposely delay them.*

TO DR. PRIESTLEY'S LATE CLASS.

MY YOUNG FRIENDS,

Fairhill, March 16, 1790.

THE pleasure I have received from your very sensible and affectionate address is only equalled by that which I have always had in the course of my attendance upon you in the vestry, which exceeds that which arises from the discharge of every other part of my duty as a Christian minister, and in all of them I experience greater satisfaction than I derive from any other studies and pursuits whatever.

To see such happy fruits of my labours† as your letter promises, will add to the enjoyment of the whole of my future life, and even brighten my prospect beyond the grave. For what society can I wish for there in preference to that of those whom, I may flatter myself, I have been in some measure the instruments of training up for that better state?

Having laid so good a foundation, I hope you will proceed to build upon it, by continually adding to your stock of useful knowledge; and doubt not but that the more attention you give to Christianity, in the principles and evidences of which I have been more particularly careful to instruct you, the more you will value it. You will never forget, that the use of all *knowledge*, especially such as I have endeavoured to communicate to you, is *virtuous conduct*; and that to be useful to others in this world, is the only way to be happy in another.

You do not want to be informed, though you cannot take it amiss to be reminded, that youth is the only season for laying the foundation of virtue and true happiness, in sound knowledge and good habits; and though you are now most exposed

* *Orig. MS.*

† See I. 354, *note*.

to temptation, you are possessed of a vigour of mind peculiar to your age, and not yet enfeebled and depraved by commerce with a vicious world. Persevere, then, as you have begun, and the recollection of our past intercourse will afford us mutual satisfaction to the end of life, and beyond it.

You will do me the justice to believe me, when I assure you that your generous and very unexpected present is what I should have returned, if I had not believed that in doing this I should have given you pain, and that I esteem it chiefly as an expression of your gratitude and good-will.

With my best wishes and prayers for your present and future happiness, I am, my young friends, yours affectionately.*

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.†

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, March 22, 1790.

WE have seen nothing of Mr. Walker on his return to Nottingham, and how the Address to the Nation is to be managed I know not. I do not wish to be responsible for any thing of the kind. I certainly shall do no such thing as Mr. Stone‡ advises. It would in every view be wrong. I had much rather write a second letter to Mr. Pitt; but I do not mean to do even that, but confine myself to the Familiar Letters I am now in the course of writing and publishing here.

Mr. Madan has advertised a Letter to me in reply to them, against Thursday next, and on that day my third set of Letters are also to be out. I shall certainly send you or Mr. Johnson a parcel by that night's coach, and a copy of Mr. Madan's Letter. The controversy is a good deal attended to, and so far operates to my advantage; but Mr. Madan was most highly respected, and has many friends.

I sent Mr. Johnson a short letter for the St. James's Chronicle, requesting the insertion of my Letter to the Members of Parliament, and desired him to apply to you for a copy of it. I fancy, by a letter that I received yesterday, that it has found its way into some other evening papers.

* *Orig.* MS., communicated by Mr. Skey, from Mr. Russell's papers.

† Essex Street.

‡ John Hurford Stone, who died a few years since, at Paris.

Mr. Cooper has a curious story to tell of Samuel Fletcher. He can neither write nor read; and some High-Churchmen making him drunk, got his consent to the letter that Mr. Burke flourished away upon.* I doubt not he will get a correct account of the fact, and publish it.

It will hardly be in my power to be with you till the 13th of April. On the 14th I hope to have the pleasure of dining with Mrs. Rayner, as usual.

Mr. Russell is uncommonly struck with Mr. Wakefield; and as Mr. Walker and Dr. Clayton† strongly recommended a proposal of his, which was, to translate the New Testament in two years, provided he had 100*l.* each year,‡ Mr. Russell undertook it, and has remitted him part of the money I have subscribed my guinea a year.§

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND, *Birmingham, March 29, 1790.*

I REJOICE greatly that your work is in so great forwardness, as I have no doubt of its doing much good, as every thing of yours has.

You take it for granted that Dr. Withers is the author of Theodosius; but would it not be better to leave a line at Buckland's, or his successor's, according to the direction in the book? It is eagerly recommended by the clergy here, who now do every thing they possibly can to injure me. I hear it is a measure of the clergy in general to prosecute me in the Spiritual Court, but on what ground they will proceed I cannot imagine. I think they will be better advised. Mr. Madan has published the most peevish and malignant letter to me that you can conceive. I shall notice it in my Familiar Letters, another number of which I propose to publish before I leave Birmingham. The controversy excites universal attention.

* In the debate, March 2. See *Gent. Mag.* LX. 425.

† Formerly Theological Tutor at Warrington, now Mr. Walker's colleague at Nottingham. Dr. Clayton died, 1797, aged 64. M. R. VIII. 625. See *Mem. of Wakefield*, I. 226.

‡ See *ibid.* pp. 355, 356.

§ Orig. MS.

The Letters to Mr. Burn are all gone, and the Familiar Letters very nearly. We printed 500 of each, but now reprint them. I shall strike while the iron is hot.

This day I attend the funeral of Mrs. Blyth. He is much broken, and says he shall resign. Indeed, I much question whether he will ever preach again, so that a colleague must be had for me. But more of this when I come.*

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, April 6, 1790.

I REJOICE that the time of our annual interview, especially in Titchfield Street, is now so near as Tuesday next, *Deo volente*. I wish I may find you as well as I hope you will find me, finely recreated and enlivened by controversy. But, seriously, your illness has given me some concern. You ought now to indulge yourself in more frequent excursions and vacations from public service. I shall certainly do so, if I can afford it, at your age. There is a time for all things, and rest naturally follows labour. As I now enjoy the latter, I expect in time to have as much enjoyment of the former.

With this, you will receive the fourth part of my Letters; but I find I write faster than you have leisure to read or hear. Mr. Burn has announced his speedy reply. The clergy are exasperated to the greatest degree; but I have just heard that, after a solemn consultation, they have dropped their scheme of the Spiritual Court. You will see, by what I now send, that I am not intimidated, and do not lose my temper, as they do theirs.

One number more will probably finish what I think of saying at present; and as my subject will be chiefly the present state of things in the Church of England, I hope to be assisted by you and my other friends in London. For this purpose I shall put down a few queries for yourself and others to answer. We send the Letters to Mr. Johnson. Take what you want.†

* *Orig. MS.*

† *Orig. MS.*, "with twelve copies of *Familiar Letters*, No. 4."

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, May 9, 1790.

ON Friday, about noon, I thank God, I arrived safe at my habitation, where I found my wife tolerably well, and every thing also as well as I could expect.

I have heard very little about the dispute with the clergy, my wife not troubling herself much about the matter. Some, however, of the church party boast of Mr. Burn's last Letter as unanswerable; but there must be more sense among some of them. In the course of the week I propose to write the fifth and last number of my Familiar Letters, and then I shall stick close to our translation, the effect of which I contemplate with much satisfaction.

The approaching war,* I fear, will draw off some part of the attention that would have been given to these subjects; but every thing, we cannot doubt, has its uses in the great plan of Providence, and the same end may be brought about by very different means.

Mr. Robinson, I hear, is writing something more particularly pointed against the Church of England. Indeed, I cannot help thinking that the eyes of men in this country ought to be opened to the gross abuses of it, more, in several respects, than those that now prevail in Popish countries, in consequence of which, it appears to me, that the lower officiating clergy are more respected there than they are here.

Let me know particularly the state of your health, as I cannot but be anxious about it, and every thing that concerns you. Remember us both very affectionately to Mrs. Rayner and other friends.†

TO THE EDITOR OF THE GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE.

MR. URBAN,

Birmingham, May 13, 1790.

YOU will oblige me by inserting in the next Gentleman's Magazine the following letter to me from Dr. Bancroft,‡ which

* With Spain, on Nootka Sound. See *Gent. Mag.* LX. 470.

† Orig. MS.

‡ See W. XIX. 293.

is a sufficient refutation of a most impudent calumny in a pamphlet entituled *Theodosius*, which has been very industriously circulated by my enemies. I shall not trouble you with adding any thing farther, than that I never had any *conversation* with Mr. Deane* on the subject of religion; and as to what he could learn from my writings, it may be seen by any person who will think proper to consult them.†

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.‡

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, May 13, 1790.

I WISH you would give my compliments to Mr. Johnson, and tell him I shall be obliged to him for a copy of my "Letters to a Philosophical Unbeliever" for Mr. Fox, and of my two charts, for Mr. Jones, a clergyman, who assists Mr. Estlin in his school at Bristol. *They* may be sent directed to Mr. Estlin.

As Mr. Fox did not say he should be at liberty to read any thing of this kind till he should go into the country, I was in no haste to send them. The books I promised were the "Letters," and "History of Early Opinions," which I shall be obliged to you if you will take care to send.

I rejoice exceedingly at the account of the good state of your health, and hope that with care it will continue to improve; and I think you may now consult your ease, and that, without engaging in any more laborious publications, will enable you to do more real good than any undertaking that might be attended with risk to your health, as composition certainly would be. There is a time for all things. You have "fought a good fight," and now the easier task of occasional conversation, in visiting and being visited, will tend greatly to confirm the good impressions that have been made by your more strenuous exertions.

I also look forward to the same natural period of labour, and expect to enjoy that at your term of life, as well as I now do

* Silas Deane, American envoy to France, 1776. See *ibid.* pp. 290—297.

† *Gent. Mag.* LX. 384.

‡ Essex Street.

my greater activity. Your present duty is to consult your health, and to live as long and as comfortably as you can, for that alone will be attended with great utility to the common cause. To revise some of your sermons will be an easy task, and a very useful one.

I have received a letter from Dr. Bancroft, which my son is now copying, and which I wish you would take to Mr. Nicholls, for the Gentleman's Magazine. If you think proper, read it first to Dr. Heberden.*

There are two books that I wish much to have, and which I shall be obliged to you if you will endeavour to procure for me. 1. The book of consecration and adorning priests and deacons. 2. The Bishop of Llandaff's tract;† containing his proposal for equalizing church livings.‡ If you have them, you could perhaps spare them for the present. Mr. Courtenay sent me his *Letter*; a piece of excellent humour. It will do good.

I am just returned from Heath, where I left all well, and grateful for your kind remembrance of them.

P. S. Miss Percivals and other company are in the house. To-morrow they go to see Oxford, and then return.

My daughter wishes much to have the print in which we are represented as going to hell, &c. I shall be obliged to you to buy it, and put it to my account. She has the former, in which we are in the same pulpit.§

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, May 24, 1790.

I THANK you for all the pains you have taken with my several commissions, which have been more than ever trou-

* See *supra*, p. 58.

† A "Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, 1783."

‡ And abolishing the translation of bishops. "A Letter, by R. Cumberland," soon appeared, in which a "son to the Bishop of Kilmore, great-grandson to the Bishop of Peterborough, and grandson to Dr. Bentley," unblushingly maintains the absolute necessity of *secular* prospects to encourage a young ecclesiastic's theological and intellectual progress. *Sic iter ad astra*. See W. XIX. 281; XXV. 194.

§ *Orig. MS.* These caricatures I have seen in the print shops.

blesome. I am glad that Dr. Bancroft's letter will be inserted in the next Gentleman's Magazine, and that my investigation of this calumny, to which I was much averse, will appear justifiable, and even necessary, in the opinion of my best friends. I shall do it effectually in one of my Familiar Letters, which I am this day sending to the press; but this last part being larger than any of the rest, will hardly be printed off before the middle of the next week, especially as I must attend Dudley Lectures, and thence go to Heath to-morrow. Two Miss Percivals are with us, and they are just set out, with my wife, Joseph, and Mr. Chambers, to see Warwick, and are to return to-morrow evening.

I greatly admire Mr. T.'s spirit and zeal, but I cannot approve of his plan. Neither Christianity nor the Reformation was carried on in that way, but more silently and naturally, like the growth of corn, to which our Saviour compared the former. So ostentatious a method of proceeding would engage our opponents in similar measures, and excite a spirit of party, which is hostile to free inquiry; besides, the relief of sufferers, publicly held forth, would draw endless claimants, to whom no satisfaction could be given. Assistance in particular and well-known cases may still be given. Books may be distributed, and lay-preachers, who want but little money, may be encouraged, without making much noise. The very apparatus and correspondence necessary for such a scheme as Mr. T.'s would alone be very expensive, and the same money may be much better employed.

I have received the Bishop of Llandaff's tract; and as I have dropped much of my scheme, I want no more books. Now, however, I think is the time to exhibit to public view all the defects of the Church establishment, without sparing, but without malignity, and some other, I hope, will do it. I only dwell on the situation of the officiating clergy* in my Letters, this being necessary to my plan.

* "The persons who receive the largest salaries, do the least duty, being able to get it done for a small allowance by inferior hands; and in some cases the disproportion between the receipts of the person who does nothing, and those of him who does the whole, is enormous and scan-

I thank you for your attendance on Mr. Duncombe, and beg you would make my acknowledgments for his assistance in carrying on my experiments. I inclose this in a letter to Mr. Lee. I wish you would inform Mr. Johnson that no Analytical Review was sent for me the last month.*

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, May 27, 1790.

A FRIEND here has suggested that the best method of refuting Theodosius, i. e., so as to derive the greatest advantage from the circumstance, will be to prosecute the author for a libel. The decision of a court of justice, he thinks, would satisfy those who will never read any thing, and may prevent similar things in future. Ask Mr. Lee's opinion, and give me your own. I do not like the idea, as a punishment of the author. The question is, which method will do the greatest good; and the letter in the Magazine, and my own Familiar Letters, may do very well, though not all that might be wished. It is, no doubt, a thing of a very atrocious nature.

On Sunday I was at Dudley Lecture, and there met Mr. Rowe, from Shrewsbury. From Dudley I went to Heath, where I found all very well, and happy to hear that you and Mrs. Lindsey were so.

Having finished and begun to print the last part of my Familiar Letters, I shall now sit down to the translation of the Psalms, and in a month or two shall hope to send you a specimen. I forgot to ask Mr. Belsham about his progress, but it could not be much on account of his many engagements. I wish much to see his sermon.

So great, the papers say, are the preparations for war† on all sides, that I can hardly think the storm will blow off so easily.‡

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, June 11, 1790.

WE have had a melancholy scene here since I wrote last. dalous." W. XIX. 279. "A parish," says Dr. Knox, "that pays the rector a thousand a-year, may be supplied with an ingenious curate for forty." See "Spirit of Despotism," S. xxxii. (1795,) p. 270.

* *Orig. MS.*

† See *supra*, p. 63.

‡ *Orig. MS.*

Mr. Robinson, who preached our charity sermon on Sunday last, was found dead in his bed on Wednesday morning, at Mr. Russell's. He was much enfeebled in body and mind, but had been bent on taking the journey, and exerting himself to the utmost. His disorder the physicians call *angina pectoris*. Two nights he was with us, and on Monday evening he had a fit, from which I thought he would hardly have recovered. However, he was much better the next day, when he dined with Mr. Hawkes, and after dinner was in remarkably good spirits, and entertained us with many stories and anecdotes. He ate a hearty supper, and went to bed seemingly in good health; but it was evident that he had another fit soon after he went to bed, and that he expired in it, for he was almost cold at nine o'clock the next morning.

He was by no means fit to preach; and though he was not at a loss for words, he rambled into many things quite foreign to the subject, dwelling much on Unitarianism at both meetings, though they were different sermons. He used no notes. I have composed a sermon on the occasion of his death, which I shall preach next Sunday.* We expect letters or messengers from Cambridge, but expect to bury him here.†

I am very glad that you propose to omit the creed,‡ and to make a discourse on the occasion. Your example will give a sanction to the measure every where else.

Mr. Robinson said he never felt so sensible a relief to his mind as when he read what I published on the miraculous conception. He had always doubted the story, but never ventured to mention his suspicions to any body. He was correcting some of the last sheets of his "History of Baptism," which, I dare say, will be a curious and valuable work.

I was not much struck with the Observations on Prophecy in the last number of the "Commentaries."§ I was pleased with the mention of the opening of Essex Chapel, which was

* See W. XV. 404.

† See *ibid.* p. 407, *note*.

‡ In a projected "fourth edition of the Reformed Liturgy," published 1793, in which are "omitted what is called the Apostles' Creed, and the three invocations in the Litany." *Mem. of Lindsey*, pp. 336, 337.

§ By Mr. Garnham, II. 170.

certainly an important event; but whether referred to in the Revelations, I doubt.* I wondered much at the adopting of Mr. Henley's Account of the Fallen Angels, after the much more probable one of Mr. Palmer's in the Repository.†

By this time you will have seen my fifth part of Familiar Letters, and have formed your opinion. It is liked by my friends here, but may not please you. I ordered you twelve copies, which you will distribute as you please. Do not forget B. Vaughan, Mr. Salte, and Mr. Radcliffe. My other friends you will naturally think of.

P. S. When shall we see you and Mrs. Lindsey? Many people ask me about it. You must not disappoint us. I have even told Mr. Tayleur we shall spend a day with him, as before. I have had no account of Dr. Franklin‡ but from you.§

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, June 21, 1790.

I SEND you with this a few copies of my sermon for Mr. Robinson, to be disposed of as presents to whom you please. Do not forget Mr. Radcliffe.

There can be no doubt of Mr. Robinson's change of sentiment, whether it should appear in his writings or not. He had been a cautious man, and forebore to announce his change of opinion to his congregation; but I hope he never deceived them. There was, however, something I cannot account for with respect to his former opinion of the divinity of Christ; unless he held the indwelling scheme, for he said, in my hearing, he always thought the doctrine of the Trinity an absurdity. On this supposition, however, I cannot vindicate his writing that book.|| I hear he was uncommonly eager to read

* "The year 1774 was famous in the ecclesiastical history of our country for the opening of an *Unitarian* house of worship, in which a congregation of Christians, avowing the proper unity of God, singing *the song of Moses and the Lamb*, began, without molestation, to assemble and pay their devotions to the Almighty." *Ibid.*

† See "An Attempt to prove the Fallen Angels to have been only the Sons of Seth." By *Anglo-Scotus* (T. F. Palmer). *Theol. Repos.* V. 166.

‡ See I. 213, *ad fin.*

§ *Orig. MS.*

|| "A Plea for the Divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ, in a Pastoral Letter, addressed to a Congregation of Protestant Dissenters at Cambridge, 1776." See Dyer's *Mem. of Robinson*, (1796,) p. 106.

your reply.* It was brought by Mr. Curtis, his son-in-law, before your present of it arrived; and he sat up all night to read it, and was much agitated by it.

He was, also, more affected than he ought to have been by the reception he met with among his old friends, after his change of opinion was known. He complained to me, that among all his former friends in London, he had only two subscribers to his book. He had, no doubt, been too fond of popularity, which is too often the case with those who have the power of being so. However, his well known change of sentiment cannot fail to have a considerable effect.

I was much pleased with my journey to Nottingham. The meeting was harmonious. A number of good resolutions passed, and a letter was agreed on, which will soon be printed. Among other things, the *regium donum*,† was properly mentioned. I was very much pleased with Mr. Wakefield; he appeared so very different from what one would imagine from his writings. We were always together. I really think his situation at Hackney will be very favourable to the academy.

You will see by the inclosed that Mr. Robinson had many persons much attached to him.

P. S. I shall be much obliged to you if you will inquire whether my philosophical work has been sent to Mr. Constable and others. Coming through Derby, I found that Mr. Strutt had it not, nor Dr. Darwin. I have sent them from this place to day.‡

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, June 24, 1790.

IT is evident that Mr. Robinson, though an Unitarian, did not wish to incur the odium of it with all his old friends.

* See *Mem. of Lindsey*, p. 187.

† "A donation, which," in Dr. Price's opinion, "could only be regarded, by every independent Dissenter, as the price of his liberty." *Mem. of Price*, pp. 36, 37. On this courtly *retainer*, which has too often secured the silence, if not the servility of Nonconformists, and especially of their ministers, see "Life of Calamy," II. 465—468.

While this page is passing through the press, I am happy to notice the manly independence, and the truly Christian resolve, of Rev. James Martineau, Dublin, "on the receipt of public money by Dissenting ministers" See M. R. (N. S.) V. 832; "Christian Pioneer," VI. 144.

‡ *Orig. MS.*

I want to know how Mr. Dodson goes on with his translation of the prophets. I stick close to my part, and hope to have finished all that is essential before you come, at the end of the next month, or the middle of it. I do a certain quantity per day. We must make a point of dispatching the whole this year. I shall see Mr. Belsham, and talk to him about his part; I shall also write to Mr. Friend.

My method is to paste paper to the margin of a quarto Bible, and make the alterations there. This I think better, on every account, than to write the whole, and, especially, much easier to those who examine it. Can you borrow for me *Houbigant*, on Proverbs and Ecclesiastes? I mean his version.*

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, July 2, 1790.

YOUR remark on my sermon is very just, and if it were to print, I would alter it. However, though Mr. Robinson did not preach against the Trinity openly in his own pulpit, he managed in such a manner as to make the greatest part of his congregation Unitarians,† and the change in his sentiments was so well known as to have a great effect upon many at a distance. He ought, certainly, to have made a public recantation of his book; and, in time, I hope he would have done it. But to this he was, no doubt, too reluctant. You have seen Mr. Toulmin's sermon, to which is annexed a fuller history of him. Dr. Rees's is also expected to be printed.

We wonder much that we do not receive Mr. Belsham's sermon. He is to meet me at Warwick on Monday se'nnight, and therefore will be here before you; but I hope we shall be together, part, at least, of your time. Mr. Tayleur expresses much satisfaction in the thought of seeing us.

I greatly admire Bruce's Travels, which Mr. Galton has made me a present of. He well illustrates many passages of scripture. To-day I hope to finish the rough copy of my

* Orig. MS.

† This was, certainly, a misapprehension. See W. XV. 417, note †. *Mem. of Lindsey*, p. 194.

translation of the Psalms. I find much help in Green. Have you any thing on Ecclesiastes?*

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, July 6, 1790.

I HAVE received yours of yesterday. The virulence with which the orthodox pursue their enemies is, indeed, extraordinary. You and I have had our share; but every thing turns out favourably to truth in the end. It is much to be regretted that Dr. M'Gill† was not more firm,‡ especially if the General Assembly would have supported him.§ However, if this be understood, it may serve to make others more courageous.

I am sorry to hear of the death of Mr. Palmer,|| and the paralytic affection of Mr. Jones. He was a valuable man, and an Unitarian. I saw him first at Cambridge,¶ when I lived in Suffolk. He must be about seventy.

I shall be happy to have Mr. Belsham with us at Birmingham. On Monday next I meet him at Warwick. I go on Sunday to preach a Sunday-school sermon.

I have just received Mr. Hamilton's book; ** but have barely looked into it. It is impossible that he can find any evidence

* *Orig. MS.*

† "One of the ministers of Ayr," who had published at Edinburgh, 1786, "A Practical Essay on the Death of Jesus Christ, containing, 1. The History; 2. The Doctrine of his Death."

‡ He appears to have recanted, before his ecclesiastical superiors, "grudgingly," or, perhaps, as *res angustæ domi* might influence, rather than "with a ready mind," some positions in his Essay, which impugned the established faith of his church, especially on the *atonement*.

§ Mr. Lindsey to Mr. Turner, Newcastle, "May 12, 1791," says, "I have had a few lines from Mr. Wardrop, of Glasgow, who tells me that the second storm, which threatened good Dr. M'Gill, is happily blown over."
Orig. MS.

|| Aged 60, with whom, in 1779 and 1780, Dr. Priestley had discussed the subject of Philosophical Necessity. See W. IV. 167—223.

¶ Where he was minister, afterwards at Peckham.

** "Strictures upon 'Primitive Christianity, by the Rev. Dr. Knowles, Prebendary of Ely,' as also upon the Theological and Polemical Writings of the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of St. David's, the Rev. Dr. Priestley, and the late Rev. Mr. Badcock. By Edward Hamilton, Esq. Part i. 1790." *Analyt. Rev.* VIII. 79.

for his strange assertions.* I hope the book will not be much noticed. But Whiston's oddities did no material harm.†

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND,

Warwick, July 13, 1790.

YESTERDAY I preached a Sunday-school sermon in this place, to a very crowded audience, among whom was Dr. Parr. To-day he is to attend the ordination service of Mr. Field. I preach, and Mr. Belsham, who has not yet arrived, gives the charge. He then dines with us; and to-morrow I and Mr. Russell, with some others, are to dine with him in our way home. We called upon him in our way hither. He was not at home; but Mrs. Parr, seemingly a very sensible woman, received us in his library, which consists of, she said, six thousand volumes. It is, indeed, an immense collection for a private clergyman, and cost, she said, more than two‡ thousand pounds, exclusive of many presents.

He seems to have made out who *Junius* was, a Mr. Lloyd, whose natural son he had the care of. He is since dead; but a brother of his, a canon of Norwich, (I think,) a particular acquaintance of Dr. Parr, is living. He was a man in public office, devoted to Mr. Grenville, who was supplanted by the Duke of Grafton.

I am eager to ask Mr. Belsham what he has done with *Job*. I have finished the *Psalms*, and am engaged with the *Proverbs*; I mean the first rough copy, to determine the general sense.

* This writer is "a believer in Jesus, who denies that he was the Messiah, an Ebionite, who is no Christian, an advocate for the divine mission of Moses and Jesus, who pronounces ninety parts in a hundred of the Bible useless, and asserts as his great discovery that 'Christianity itself is only a sophistication of the religion of Jesus.' He not only undertakes to criticise the works of Dr. Priestley and his antagonists, but to decide upon the authenticity of the Christian Fathers, and to pronounce spurious the writings of Justin Martyr, and of all who preceded Tertullian, not excepting the evangelists themselves, and at the same time confesses that he has not read the Fathers, and scarcely knows them, except through the moderns." *Ibid.* pp. 81, 82. See *supra*, p. 29.

† *Orig.* MS.

‡ This word is written very imperfectly. It could scarcely be *ten*.

But I have made many marks of absolute uncertainty, as Dr. Heberden advised, when such passages occur, and, indeed, they are very many. I have begun to reprint my Familiar Letters, which I find every day to have been more and more read in the neighbourhood, and not without effect.*

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, July 16, 1790.

DR. PARR seemed to be very much pleased with Mr. Belsham, whose charge he heard. He dined with us; and the next day we dined with him, at his own house. Mr. Belsham, who stayed after us, had much conversation with him, and was much entertained.† He has just breakfasted here on his way to Cirencester, and he will return while you are here, and it will suit him, he says, much better than to come sooner, as was first intended.

Dr. Parr was studiously civil, and very open. He has now, certainly, no measures to keep with the high-church party though he did not directly declare himself an Unitarian.

I much fear that Mr. Toulmin's work‡ will not sell to any great extent. The orthodox have a zeal in these matters that we have not. I heartily wish well to it, and shall do all I can to promote it.

I had much rather Mr. Wesley's Life had been written by the elder, than the younger Mr. Hampson.§ The latter is in the Church, and therefore cannot write some parts as we should wish them to be written.

I shall be glad to see Dr. Edwards's sermon, and the other things you talk of bringing with you. I hope to have finished my part of the translation before you come.

I hardly expected peace.|| I hope some great good is coming forward, and this is seldom effected without great preceding calamity.¶

* *Orig. MS.*

† Mr. Field, in his Life of Dr. Parr, very agreeably describes these interviews.

‡ "The History of the Town of Taunton, 1791." See W. X. 669.

§ To this "Life," Dr. Priestley had contributed. See W. XXV. 329.

|| See *supra*, p. 67.

¶ *Orig. MS.*

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, July 22, 1790.

I REJOICE exceedingly in the near prospect of seeing you and Mrs. Lindsey here. I have no greater satisfaction in this life than in my interviews with you. The time of your coming will, every way, suit us.

If you see Mr. Dodson, tell him it will by no means do to reprint either *Blayney** or Bishop Newcome,† as we must keep much nearer to the phraseology of the present version than they do. We must content ourselves with departing from it, only for the sake of some real improvement.

You will think me extravagant, but I wish you would buy for me, from Gardner's Catalogue, Niebuhr's Travels. I expect material service from them in this translation, as I have found from Bruce. They were sent with a view to the illustration of scripture, and I once read a good part of the work.

I must beg copies of your Apology, Sequel, and single sermons, to replace my volume that I lost by lending. I hope it will do good wherever it falls.‡

TO REV. J. P. ESTLIN.§

DEAR SIR,

Birmingham, Aug. 6, 1790.

I LEAVE it entirely to you, who are the best judge, when to put Harry|| to learn French; and if you think him sufficiently perfect in the Greek Grammar, you may do it immediately. My object, you know, is to make a good classical scholar as the necessary foundation of every thing else; but whatever is not inconsistent with that, let him do whatever you think proper.

Mr. Lindsey is still here, and desires his best respects. His last publication¶ I think most excellent, clearly proving that

* His *Jeremiah*.† *Ezekiel* and the *Minor Prophets*.‡ *Orig. MS.*

§ Bristol.

|| See I. 208.

¶ "A Second Address to the Students of Oxford and Cambridge, relating to Jesus Christ, and the Origin of the great Errors concerning him; with a List of the False Readings of the Scriptures, and the Mistranslations of the English Bible, which contribute to support those Errors. 1790."

Mr. Lindsey to Mr. Bretland, "London, July 26, 1790," says, "I am

Justin Martyr was the first who suggested the idea of Christ being the *logos*.* But I must speak tenderly on this subject, as I know you are all Arians at Bristol.†

TO MR. W. FRIEND.‡

DEAR SIR,

Birmingham, Aug. 12, 1790.

YOUR account of the university at Cambridge has given me great satisfaction, and has rectified some mistakes that I was under on the subject. You own, however, that much reformation is wanted, and certainly £50,000 per annum might be better appropriated for the purpose of education, and the promotion of literature, though it must be owned that the same sum in private hands is in general not employed near so well. I see in it no such provision for teaching theology, as there is for teaching mathematics, &c.; and certainly the advantages of the university, whatever they are, ought to be open to all the country, and not confined to the members of the Church of England. You must excuse our railing a little at that we cannot come at.

I am sticking pretty closely to our translation, as I hope you do. Besides my proper part, *Psalms*, *Proverbs*, and *Ecclesiastes*, I fancy I shall have something to do with the prophecies, except *Isaiah*, which Mr. Dodson will take care of.§ He thinks it will be sufficient if we take the versions of *Blayney* and *Newcome* for the rest; but I am of a different opinion.

Shall you find time to divide this task with me, so as to take *Jeremiah*, *Ezekiel*, and the *Minor Prophets*, with *Daniel*? If you can, take your choice, and I will take one of the other

very happy the Second Address was well approved, in any degree, by such judges as you. I wish Unitarians could come to any solid and satisfactory faith about the interpretation and rendering of the preface to St. John's gospel, and upon such grounds as might approve themselves to common readers, who will continue to think that he is speaking of Christ as God, if nothing level to their capacities is laid before them to the contrary." MS. copy, by Rev. B. Mardon.

* See *Address*, pp. 147—216; *Mem. of Lindsey*, pp. 211—213.

† Orig. MS.

‡ Jesus College, Cambridge. See *supra*, p. 11.

§ See *supra*, p. 45.

parts. Perhaps Mr. Garnham, or some other of your friends, will not object to a part. Please to consult him, and let me know in time. We must have all the parts ready before the next April, and this I hope will not be very difficult.

I thank you for Mr. Rogers'* sermon, which I admire much. I hope the number of such men is increasing. —'s last sermon is evidently the production of an unbeliever. Mr. Garnham's papers in the Repository† supply an easy answer to all his difficulties. Our Saviour declared‡ that he did not know the time of his second coming, and therefore whatever he said on that subject must have been his mere conjecture, in which he might be, and I doubt not was, mistaken.§

We had a melancholy scene in the death of Mr. Robinson. The son forgot a pamphlet I gave him for you. However, we are reprinting all the Familiar Letters, and I will then send you a complete copy. We are also going to reprint Collins on Necessity, which has been long out of print, and much wanted.||

I have desired Mr. Johnson to get, if he can, Michaelis's New Translation of the Bible.¶

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.**

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, Aug. 18, 1790.

I HAVE received a copy of Mr. Dexter's letter for the new edition of my Familiar Letters, and therefore shall print it off immediately. I have written a pretty large preface. I introduce Dr. Withers's letter to me in such a manner as you will not disapprove.††

I have also persuaded Mr. Johnson to give an edition of

* A Clergyman, Sproughton, Suffolk; one of the Society, described I. 394.

† Four have been attributed to Mr. Garnham: "Observations on *Isaiah* vii. 10—23; viii. 5—19;" "An Illustration of various Texts of Scripture;" "On the Oblation of Isaac, as Figurative of the Death of Christ;" "An Inquiry into the Time at which the Kingdom of Heaven will commence." *Theol. Repos.* V. 38, 273; VI. 60, 244.

‡ *Mark* xiii. 32. See W. XIII. 298.

§ See W. XV. 309.

|| See W. IV. 257—310.

¶ *Orig.* MS., which Mr. Frend very obligingly communicated.

** Essex Street.

†† See W. XIX. 531—533.

Collins on Liberty and Necessity; and I have written a preface to it.* It is exceedingly scarce, and ought to be preserved.

I lament, with you, the fate of Daventry academy,† and the more, as the place of my own education.‡ It had many disadvantages; but certainly afforded little opportunity of dissipation, and, on that account, was favourable to study. The students had little or no society, except with themselves.

I have just received Mr. Robinson's book.§ It seems to be curious, but has much that is foreign to his purpose. When I have seen more of the book, I shall give you my thoughts of it more particularly.

I am much pleased with your account of Mr. Bedell. I hope there are many such, forming silently. I shall be glad to see the account of the Unitarians in South Wales.

I have received "The Book"|| from Mr. Thompson, but doubt whether it be so much to the purpose as has been imagined. Dr. Furneaux has given an account of it (2nd ed.

* In which "popular declamation against the doctrine of necessity" is thus exposed:

"If persons have strength of mind not to be frightened by *names*, and be capable of attending to *things* only, the strongest objections to the doctrine of necessity will not affect them. If they be unequal to this, they had better desist from the consideration of the subject, and content themselves with popular ideas and popular language. Only let them cease to censure what they do not understand, and what they see does no real harm.

"When young necessarians, who wish to prolong their lives, shall neglect the necessary means of preserving them, by taking wholesome food or poison promiscuously; or when they shall carelessly throw themselves down precipices, or walk indifferently where there is danger and where there is none, I shall then acknowledge that the doctrine of necessity, simply considered, has, indeed, dangerous consequences. But if necessarians, whether virtuously or viciously disposed, take the same care of themselves in these respects as other people do, I shall say that, if they do not pay the same rational attention to their conduct in a moral respect, so as to guard against inconveniences equally foreseen, whatever else be the cause, their inattention and misconduct did not arise from their being believers in the doctrine of necessity." W. IV. 258, 259.

† See *Mem. of Lindsey*, p. 286 note.

‡ See I. 22.

§ "The History of Baptism." See W. XV. 409; XX. 476—482.

|| Of consecration in the time of Edward VI. See W. XIX. 529.

pp. 89, &c.). I shall, however, make some remarks on the subject in my preface.

Mr. Toulmin has called, as I was writing, and desires to be remembered to you. I inclose my letter to Mr. Dodson, and beg you would forward it.*

TO DR. PRICE.†

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, Aug. 29, 1790.

EVERY expression of your much-valued friendship gives me particular pleasure; and I hope our correspondence will never be wholly discontinued as long as we live. I have, indeed, no idea of greater happiness than what will result from the society of such persons as you are, in another world.

I most sincerely congratulate you on the glorious effulgence of liberty in France, and especially on the share that is, with so much justice, ascribed to you, with respect to the liberty, both of that country and America, and of course of all those other countries that, it is to be hoped, will follow their example. I do not know any man who appears to have lived to better purpose.

The commemoration of the French revolution at the Crown and Anchor‡ was most happily conceived, and the success of it gives me the greatest pleasure. Your speech I admired exceedingly, but especially your toast.§ Little things have some-

* *Orig. MS.*

† Hackney.

‡ Earl Stanhope in the chair.

§ “Genuine Copy of the Introduction to a *Toast*, proposed by Dr. Price, on Wednesday, the 14th of July, at the Feast for celebrating the first Anniversary of the Revolution in France:

“Gentlemen, the subject of the toast I am going to propose to you, appears to me very important. In consequence of five wars in which we have been involved since the Revolution in 1688, the kingdom is now bending under a heavy load of debts and incumbrances, which render it incapable of meeting another war without the utmost danger; for certainly there is a limit, beyond which if we go, in adding to our debts, ruin must follow; and one more war may bring us to that limit.

“A long period of peace, therefore, to give us time for the redemption of our debts, is necessary to our security, and, perhaps, even to our existence. In *France* there is a disposition to unite itself to us by an alliance for main-

times great effects, and such I cannot help auguring from this. But I do not wonder at the hatred and dread of this spirit of

taining and perpetuating peace. Such an alliance would be an union between the two first kingdoms in the world, for the noblest purpose.

“It would be an effect worthy of that union of philosophy to politics, which distinguishes the present era of the world. It might save *Britain*. It would bless the world, and complete the hopes of all the friends of human liberty and happiness. I can say, from very respectable authority, that there has been a design formed in the National Assembly of *France* to make a proposal of such an alliance to this country. O heavenly philanthropists! well do you deserve the admiration, not only of your own country, but of all countries. You have already determined to renounce, for ever, all views of conquest, and all *offensive* wars. This is an instance of wisdom and attention to human rights, which has no example. But you will do more; you will invite *Great Britain* to join you in this determination, and to enter into a compact with you for promoting *peace on earth, and good-will among men*.

“Gentlemen, such are the fruits of that glorious revolution which we are this day celebrating. It promises a new and better order in human affairs. The passions of kings and their ministers have too often and too long involved nations in the calamities of war; but now, (thanks to the National Assembly of *France*,) the axe is laid to the root of this cause of human misery; and the intrigues of courts are likely to lose their power of embroiling the world.

“In this kingdom we have been used to speak of the people of *France* as our *natural enemies*; and, however absurd, as well as ungenerous and wicked, such language was, it admitted of some excuse, while they consisted only of a monarch and his slaves: but now, with a spirit that astonishes mankind, and that makes tyrants tremble, they have broke their yoke, they have asserted their rights, and made themselves as free as ourselves. In doing this *we* have been an example to *them*; *they* are now become an example to *us*; and we have reason to expect that they will soon crown their glorious work, by calling upon us to *meet* them, not, as formerly, in the fields of blood, at the command of a despot, but on the sacred ground of liberty, to embrace us as brethren, to exchange vows with us of eternal amity, and to settle the terms of a confederation for extending the blessings of peace and liberty through the world. Thus united, the two kingdoms will be omnipotent: they will soon draw into their confederation *Holland*, and other countries on this side the globe, and the United States of *America* on the other; and when alarms of war come, they will be able to say to contending nations, *Peace*, and there will be *peace*.

“I have, therefore, thought that it would be worthy of this respectable company, on this most animating and joyous occasion, to express its wishes of success to the proposal I have mentioned, by drinking the following toast:

“An Alliance between France and Great Britain, for perpetuating peace, and making the world happy.” *Single Leaf*.

“The notice taken in France,” says Mr. Morgan, “of the speech made

revolution in kings and courtiers. Their power is generally usurpation, and I hope the time is approaching when an end will be put to all usurpation, in things civil or religious, first in Europe, and then in other countries.

When shall we see the Life of our venerable friend Dr. Franklin? The public will be impatient for it, and, after your revisal, it will, I am confident, be highly useful and edifying. I told you that I had drawn up a short account of myself. Whenever it shall be most convenient to you to peruse it, I will send it. One evening will be sufficient for the reading of it, and I hope you will be thinking of something of the same nature for yourself. I think it will be attended with many advantages. I wrote mine in one of my summer excursions.* I wish you would employ one of yours in the same way, and remember that life is precarious.

The next week I and my wife set out on a visit to our friends at Leeds, to be absent about a month. I can but ill spare the time; though I propose not to be wholly idle.

Wishing you much enjoyment of your seasonable retreat from labour and intrusion, I am, &c.†

TO MR. FRENCH.‡

DEAR SIR,

Buxton, Sept. 12, 1790.

I REJOICE that you apply so closely to the translation, as I am confident you will acquit yourself well in it, and it is an object of very great consequence. I hardly attend to any thing else; for, like you, I find it to be a very laborious business.

I have no doubt of being able to finish the *Psalms, Proverbs*, and *Ecclesiastes*, in a month after my return from my present excursion, i. e. about two months from this time, and hope to be

by Dr. Price, in prefacing his toast at this dinner, and the principles laid down in the Discourse which he had delivered, at the Old Jewry, in November, drew torrents of abuse upon him from Mr. Edmund Burke, who, as if possessed by some dæmon of the nether regions, had never ceased, from the first moment of the revolution, to declaim, in a manner the most outrageous, against it, and against all the friends and supporters of it." *Mem. of Price*, p. 163.

* See I. 418, *ad fin.*

† *Orig. MS.*

‡ Jesus College, Cambridge.

able to get through *Jeremiah*, or *Ezekiel* and *Daniel*, in the course of the winter. Mr. Dodson undertakes the *Minor Prophets*, besides *Isaiah*, which he has already dispatched. If Mr. Garnham will undertake either *Jeremiah*, (with *Lamentations*,) or *Ezekiel* and *Daniel*, he will set me perfectly at ease, and then I shall have no doubt but that we may go to press in the course of the next summer.

Though your part be the longest, it is unquestionably by much the easiest, the difficult passages not occurring almost every other verse, as with the rest of the Old Testament. If Mr. Garnham have not a copy of our Rules,* I will send him one; and as it is of consequence to me to know which of the parts I have mentioned he makes choice of, I beg to be informed of it as soon as possible.

I have sent for *Michaelis*,† but your account of it makes me almost repent of the order. In the last Analytical Review you will see an account of another new version of the Scriptures. I have forgotten the name. If you know any thing of it, and have reason to expect it will be worth our while to have it, I wish you would procure it for the joint concern.

I wish much to see the Philosophical Inquiry you mention, as it may, perhaps, be not amiss to reprint it, along with Collins, which makes but a pamphlet of no great size. If you could send it to Mr. Lindsey, he could convey it to me. But let me know what you think of the design yourself.

I am glad to hear that Mr. Nesbitt is about to answer Dr. Edwards;‡ and I hope he will produce something better than he has done against me,§ which I think superficial and insignificant in the extreme.

You will, in due time, see my Sermon and Mr. Belsham's Charge.|| What we mean by *ordination*,¶ is recommending

* W. XVII. 532. See *supra*, p. 24.

† See *supra*, p. 77.

‡ See "The Predictions of the Apostles concerning the End of the World: a Sermon, preached before the University of Cambridge, on Sunday, May 23, 1790. By Thomas Edwards, LL.D." *Anal. Rev.* VIII. 87.

§ See "Observations on the Miraculous Conception of our Saviour, with a Particular View to the Exceptions of Dr. Priestley on the Subject, with an Advertisement upon Dr. Edwards's Objections to the Testimony of Christ and his Apostles. By N. Nesbitt, M. A." *Ibid.* p. 88.

|| At Warwick. See *supra*, pp. 73, 74.

¶ See I. 62.

a brother to the Divine blessing, and giving him and his congregation some good advice.*

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.†

DEAR FRIEND,

Leeds, Sept. 22, 1790.

WE arrived here late last night, when I received the favour of your letter, and this morning I had the second.

We have found our excursion exceedingly pleasant, far beyond my expectation, especially at Buxton, where I made some agreeable acquaintance, and where I found some exercise, even as a preacher.

We arrived on Saturday evening, and the next day, after dinner, the company at the White Hart desired me to give them a sermon, which I did, and many persons from the other houses, though the notice was short, attended. In the course of the following week, when it was understood that I meant to stay another Sunday, I had a deputation by General Stratton, and a Mr. Sligo, from Leith, from the company at the Crescent, where were several of the nobility, and the Provost of the university of Dublin, to give them a sermon. I desired them to name their own time, and they appointed the morning, after the prayers, which they said I had no occasion to attend, as there was a room adjoining to the Assembly Room, where the service was.

Having no sermon that I thought proper for so mixed an audience, I composed one on the resurrection of Christ‡ (one that I shall probably preach at Essex Chapel, if all be well, the next time I see London). There was a large audience, and I was never heard with a more fixed attention, except that some ladies of quality, who were behind me, I was told, behaved with some levity, talking to one another all the time. Mr. Burgh, Mr. Grattan, and many persons of note, were there, who, if I may judge by their language and circumstances, were much impressed. A young man of a pleasing countenance and manner, but whose name I do not know, was very

* *Orig. MS.*

† Essex Street.

‡ Published, 1791; *Discourse XI.*, "On the Evidence of Revealed Religion," W. XV. 325.

particular in his acknowledgments, and said he should consider the opportunity he had had of hearing me on that subject as the happiest circumstance in his life. An elderly clergyman was particularly attentive, and ejaculated his approbation to all that were near him. The officiating clergyman, however, and many others, were much offended at my being requested to preach; but many, the most prejudiced, I was told, were greatly impressed in my favour. On the whole, I thought it a happy opportunity, as some wavering believers were present, whose faith I have reason to think I confirmed.

The provost invited me to dine with him, after the service, at the grand hotel, as it is called, and I had a great deal of free conversation with him, especially about his regulations in the university. By his own account, he has great merit in his conduct of it. He is said, I find, to be one of the most rapacious of men,* and to have not less than seven thousands per annum of the public money. To me he exhibited himself as one of the most disinterested of men, and the most public-spirited, a friend of reformation in church and state, &c., &c., &c. It is something, however, for men to avow right maxims, as it shews they are not quite out of fashion. The archbishop's lady, and some others, refused to attend when I preached; though there were several clergymen present.

I find Mr. Shore here; and on Sunday I dine with him at Mr. Simpson's. I called on Mr. Turner in passing through Wakefield, and expect him here to-night, to stay over to-morrow. I fancy I shall be here two Sundays. My wife, as well as myself, are much the better for this excursion, so that I hope not much time will, on the whole, be lost.*

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND,

Leeds, Sept 30, 1790.

I WAS very happy to hear from you, and I hope to have that satisfaction once more before I leave this place.

* "We remember," says Dr. Knox, "the *old manner* of appointment to the provost-ship of Trinity College, Dublin." See "*Spirit of Despotism*," (1795,) p. 271.

† *Orig. MS.*

Presently after my last was sent off, I heard the melancholy fate of Mrs. Russell, from his brother, and another relation. We were at Buxton when it happened, and the accident was much talked of, but no names were known, and we little imagined that they were in that part of the country. Mrs. Russell will be much missed, indeed; but the manner of her death will no doubt make the event much more distressing. His brother says that they all bear the affliction better than could have been expected. It must, however, be severely felt. I immediately wrote to him, but hastening home on the account would answer no material purpose, and his brother desires I would not think of it.

Mr. Wood's congregation* is in a fine state, containing many young people, to whom he gives proper attention. He has not, however, such zealous seconds as I have in Mr. Russell. He cannot establish a library, though he has attempted it.

Mr. Turner was with us yesterday. Last Sunday they had a candidate for the office of his assistant, Mr. Johnson,† sent down by Mr. Belsham, who is likely to be accepted. The congregation, I hear, is thin,‡ but those at Halifax and Bradford reduced almost to nothing, while the Methodists, &c., increase wonderfully. But the ministers want zeal, and pay no attention to the young.

This journey, to all appearance, will be of great service to me, and my wife too, as well as be some furtherance to the good cause; but I wish to be at home, at my translation and other pursuits.

I admire Mr. Wood very much. He has in hand an excellent work on the Old Testament, which he executed in his lectures to the young people. I persuade him to publish it.

P. S. Please to send copies of the Familiar Letters, to Mr. Thompson, (who lent me the curious book, mentioned in the preface,)§ to Mr. Shore, and Mr. Dodson.||

* See I. 188.

† The present minister.

‡ Consisting, "for a considerable part, of persons of fortune and genteel life," as described by Mr. Turner to Mr. Belsham. *Orig.* MS.

§ See *supra*, p. 78.

|| *Orig.* MS.

TO MISS RUSSELL.*

DEAR MISS RUSSELL,

Leeds, Oct. 1790.

YOUR affecting letter, which I could not read without many tears, abundantly repays me for any pains I may have taken to instil Christian principles into the minds of the young persons of the congregation, as it shews that in some, at least, it has had its full effect. It also proves to myself that Christianity is not a mere speculation, but of the greatest practical use on the most serious and trying occasions. I find it so to myself now, as well as at other times.

As to *death*, I have habitually considered it as no great evil, except in particular circumstances, and in your case there is much to alleviate your sorrow; and in the midst of judgment we should not forget our mercies. Such an excellent woman as your mother truly was, would, no doubt, be much missed at the latest period of life; but what we may suppose to have remained of life was of far less value to herself or others than the preceding. In several respects you and your sister can well supply her place; and it is a call to exertion, which you will no doubt improve, both with respect to your father and brother. As to her sufferings, I have little doubt they were much less than persons commonly have in lingering sickness. It is only the *manner* and the *suddenness* that shock us so much.

Above all, you should think of how much more consequence it is to you and the world that your father is spared, the most valuable part of whose life is probably yet to come, whose zeal as a Christian, and activity as a public character, may be of the greatest use. I see, by the state of the congregation here, the importance of such a person. Mr. Wood has as much zeal as myself, but he has no Mr. Russell to second, or rather to lead him, as I have; and for want of this, though his lectures succeed pretty well, he has not been able to establish a congregational library. He even printed a recommendation of it, and gave a copy to every person of much consequence, with

* Showell Green, near Birmingham.

very little effect; whereas I have only had to hint any thing that I thought useful, and it was instantly done, in the completest manner.

My wife, who desires to be most kindly remembered to you, is but poorly, but better than she has been. However, we hope to arrive at Fairhill on Friday. Mr. Dawson, who is going to Bristol, accompanies us. With my earnest prayers for the best interest of all the family, and my most affectionate respects to your father and sister, (to whom indeed I consider myself as writing no less than to yourself,) I am, &c.*

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.†

DEAR SIR,

Birmingham, Oct. 13, 1790.

I MEANT to have written to you in the course of the last week, but I was desirous of sending at the same time more of the printed sheets of my work‡ than I found I could get ready for the purpose.

I now send a few, including the defence of Dr. Price,§

* From *Orig. MSS.*, obligingly communicated by Mr. Skey.

† Essex Street.

‡ "Letters to Burke." W. XXII. 145.

§ And his Discourse, Nov. 4, 1789 (*supra*, p. 41). See W. XXII. 179—183; 522—524. In answer to "a letter from the district of Quimper, conveyed by the Duke de la Rochefoucauld," Dr. Price thus writes, "Oct. 14, 1790," on the subject of this Discourse:

"Gentlemen, the letter which has been conveyed to me by your excellent fellow-citizen and co-patriot M. de la Rochefoucauld, brought me a testimony of your approbation, on which I set a high value. Such notice confers a greater honour than any that titles can give, or kings bestow. Accept my thanks for thus encouraging the attempts of a feeble individual to serve the best of all causes.

"The discourse delivered on the 14th of July, at the feast in London for celebrating the Anniversary of the glorious Revolution in France, and which you have thus honoured, was indeed an emanation from a heart warm with zeal to promote peace and philanthropy among nations, and with an admiration of that disdain of slavery which now pervades your country, and which has produced there a revolution unparalleled in history, to which philosophers and virtuous men are now looking as a noble burst of the human mind from the fetters of slavery and superstition, and the commencement of a general reformation in the governments of Europe. May Heaven prosper the great work, and grant that no adverse event may interrupt its progress, or prevent its happy completion!

which I wish you to shew him. I have informed him that it is in your hands. I hope to send you all the remainder the latter end of this week.

I send a few copies of my edition of Collins. As few were printed, I must not make many presents.

I like the plan of "the Christian Miscellany,"* but much doubt its success; every thing of a similar kind, at all liberal, having failed.

P. S. Several of us have looked through Mr. Burke's work, and we cannot find the passage in which he charges the Dissenters with the riots in 1780.†

"Hitherto the world has groaned under despots; and the best interests of society have fallen a sacrifice to their passions and follies. We are now seeing the dawn of better times; and the example of France is likely to increase it into a glorious effulgence. From the instruction there given, the world will learn, that, as subjects of government and law, all men are equal; that in every state the majesty of the people is the only sacred majesty; that all civil authority is a *trust* from them; that its end is not to take away, but to establish liberty, by protecting equally all honest citizens; and that the governing power in every nation ought to be, not the will of any man or classes of men pretending to hereditary rights, but the collected wisdom of the nation drawn from the general mass, and concentrated in a National Assembly, by such modes of election, and such an extension of its rights, as form a part of the new constitution of France."

In a note, probably on the publication of the letter, Dr. Price adds,

"The government of Britain would be *nearly* such a government as is here meant, and its constitution *all* that the writer of this letter can wish to see it, were the three states that compose it perfectly independent of one another, and the House of Commons in particular an equal and fair representation of the kingdom, guarded against corruption by being frequently renewed, and the exclusion of placemen and pensioners."

See "The Correspondence of the Revolution Society in London with the National Assembly, and with various Societies of the Friends of Liberty in France and England," (1792,) pp. 99, 100.

* A monthly periodical, of which there was only one volume. It is probably to this publication Mr. Lindsey thus refers, in his letter to Mr. Bretland, quoted *supra*, pp. 75, 76:

"I hope that you, who are so qualified, and who are in the prime of life, and have leisure, will lend your assistance to Mr. Toulmin, jun., and his colleagues, in their new undertaking, which might be highly useful in counteracting a farrago of things in your Christian magazines, and by degrees eradicate the seeds of superstition out of the minds of the common people."

† *Orig. MS.*

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND,

NOTWITHSTANDING your approbation of what you have already seen of my Letters to Mr. Burke, I am not without apprehension on shewing you the remainder.

The passage alluding to Mr. Pitt* is printed as corrected by yourself or Mr. Heywood; but if you expect I should ever get favour with him or his friends, you are certainly mistaken. Bishop Watson told me he would never forgive; nor am I solicitous about it. The preface will shew me no great party man, by my allusion to the coalition.†

I must give a considerable number of this work, and do you, as usual, supply my defects, for which purpose I shall send you a separate parcel.

P. S. This day Mr. Jardine is to be proposed to the congregation, to be invited to succeed Mr. Blythe. I am sorry to hear of Mr. Wakefield's leaving the college.

I wish the present heavy snow do not impede our intercourse by letters.‡

TO REV. T. BELSHAM.§

DEAR SIR,

Birmingham, Oct. 17, 1790.

YOUR excellent Charge is now in the printer's hands. I think myself particularly happy in the circumstance of my sermon accompanying this piece of yours; and if it was my turn to pay compliments, I should say something more on the occasion.

I most sincerely wish, on many accounts, that a greater field of exertion could be procured for you; and in time, I have no doubt, your own wishes and mine on this subject will be gratified. I cannot, however, agree with you in saying that theology is only nominally superior to other sciences. I am more and more sensible of its greater dignity, and this dignity will of course be reflected on the person who teaches it.

* Probably cancelled. See *infra*, "Dec. 23."

† W. XXII. 148.

‡ *Orig.* MS.

§ Hackney.

I am glad to find you do not forget *Job*. Having nearly dispatched my proper part, I am about to undertake *Jeremiah* and *Ezekiel*; but though I do not expect to meet with any peculiar difficulty in them, I had rather put one of them into another hand; and since I have been acquainted with Mr. Wakefield, it gives me concern to leave him out in a business of this nature. Suppose you were to sound him on the subject, and let him know how I feel about it.

I shall send Mr. Lindsey the discourse I delivered at Buxton. You will find nothing extraordinary in it: only it seemed proper for the occasion; and foreseeing it, I composed it then. Considerations that are quite familiar to us who make the Scriptures our study, are quite new and striking to many others.

P. S. Next Thursday, Dr. Parr and Mr. Porson dine with me. I wished to engage Mr. Berington to meet them, but he will not be at home.*

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.†

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, Oct. 17, 1790.

AT length we are, through a good Providence, safely arrived at our comfortable habitation, and I am returned to my usual pleasing pursuits. We are both better for the journey, though my rheumatism is not quite gone.

I find Mr. Russell's family in deep affliction, as you will suppose. He desires me to thank you for the letter you wrote him, which appears to have given him very great satisfaction.

I could not find time to peruse Mr. Dodson's *Isaiah* on my journey, but shall set about it immediately, as also the transcription of what I have done to the *Psalms*, &c.

While I was at Buxton, there came one Mr. Nordenskiöld, from Sweden, accompanied by Mr. Wadstorn, whom we saw at Mr. Martin's, to Birmingham, on purpose, as they said, to see me. They followed me to Buxton, and I had several conversations with them; but what they had to propose (which

* Orig. MS.

† Essex Street.

related to natural philosophy) was so wild and absurd, that I could not treat it with much respect, and they went away much disappointed, leaving me a note, which I shall take some opportunity of sending you, and various books on the subject of Swedenborgianism, than which nothing can well be more absurd.

These people increase in this town, and have built an elegant place of worship. With the principal of them I am well acquainted. They call themselves Unitarians, and preach much against the Trinity.* One of them told me, that what taught him to think on the subject of religion was my *Appeal*. As they court my acquaintance very much, I have some thoughts of writing an Address to them.

We have just printed the last sheet of Collins. Has Mr. Frend sent you, as I desired he would, the tract that he thought would properly accompany it?†

FROM MR. ALEXANDER SPARKES.

REV. SIR,

Quebec, Oct. 18, 1790.

A FEW days ago I was favoured with a very friendly letter from Mr. Lindsey, of London, with a parcel of books, including a copy of your Ecclesiastical History, for which, he informs me, I am obliged to you. I should judge myself not only deficient in duty, but should also do violence to the feelings of my heart, did I not testify the sincerest gratitude for such an obliging attention from a person whose character and merits I so highly esteem.

Had I thought myself entitled to seek a more intimate acquaintance than I hitherto could boast, with a person of your eminence in the world of letters, I should certainly have endeavoured to make myself known to you before this time. From the acquaintance I have been endeavouring to cultivate with your valuable writings for a few years past, I conceived a very great desire (if Providence should ever put it into my power) of seeing the man to whom I felt myself so much in-

* See W, XXI. 48—51.

† *Orig. MS.*

debted, or, if that could not be, of at least testifying my obligations in some other way. I would, in consequence, have requested the honour of exchanging a few letters with you, had it not appeared to me a request too selfish on my own part, and only calculated to call off your attention from more important objects, and give you trouble, without any profit or entertainment.

But, as your goodness and obliging condescension, of which I am still more and more convinced, may perhaps incline you to take so much trouble, in order to gratify a desire which your writings have excited, should you be so good as hereafter to rank me in the number of your friends, and favour me with your countenance and advice, I shall reckon the circumstance, which first made my name known to you, as one of the most fortunate circumstances of my life.

I will not trouble you farther at present; but if you give me leave, I shall be happy at some future period to open to you my situation and sentiments, in hopes of improving by your instruction and advice.*

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.†

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, Oct. 18, 1790.

THE parcel about which you express some concern arrived very safe, presently after I had dispatched my last, and much am I obliged by the contents, which shall all be disposed of according to your directions. I hope you will make a still more liberal use of my two Histories. Now is the time to make an impression, and nothing should be spared that tends to confirm it.

Your last work cannot but do the greatest good; it contains so masterly and scholar-like a proof of Justin Martyr being the very first who started the idea of Christ being the Logos, which is the corner-stone of the Trinitarian system. I had only surmised it; but you have proved it.‡

Yesterday we did, at a full meeting of the subscribers to our

* *Orig. MS.*

† *Essex Street.*

‡ *See supra, pp. 75, 76.*

Sunday-school, what may surprise, but, I hope, will please you. We gave a hearty and unanimous invitation to Mr. Berington to preach our annual sermon on the subject. I was directed to write to him, in the most respectful manner, expressing our approbation of his liberal treatise on the subject, and the pleasure it would give us to set an example of persons of different persuasions meeting on the common ground of Christianity and benevolence.

I expect this will make some noise, but I hope it will have a good effect. It is a thing that I had talked of rather lightly some time ago, and was surprised when Mr. Russell proposed it to me, quite seriously, as the real wish of all that he had conversed with on the subject. Mr. Blythe expressed his most hearty concurrence.

Since Mr. Magellan's* death, I am at a loss for a person to take up and transmit to me the volume of the *Philosophical Transactions*. I wish you would get Mr. Johnson, or any body else, to call (as the volume has been published some time) and take it of the librarian, signing the book in my name.

I have told Mr. Belsham that I now, since I have been acquainted with Mr. Wakefield, feel a little awkwardly to leave

* See I. 198. I find "Hyacintho de Magallaens," with three other priests, indicted, in 1768, and "brought to trial in the Court of King's Bench," under the infamous "Statute 11 and 12 William III.," at the suit of a common *trading* informer.

To impede the vexatious progress of this *Protestant* persecution, "the twelve judges consulted," and "Lord Mansfield" delivered, on the Bench, "June 25, 1768," their unanimous "opinion that, in order to convict a man upon those statutes, 'it is necessary that he be proved to be a priest, and that he has said mass.'"

This sensible and humane judicial decision, alone appears to have procured the acquittal of Magallaens and his companions in tribulation. Just before, the same worthy *Protestant* prosecutor had indicted "Mr. John Baptist Malony, who was brought to his trial at Croydon, in Surry, and being convicted of having exercised the functions of a priest of the Church of Rome, was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment in the New Gaol, Southwark, but, upon his petition, removed to the King's Bench," while "the informer received from the sherrieff of the county 100*l.*, as the reward assigned by law for his information." *Quis, talia fando, temperet à lacrymis?* See "Life of Bishop Chaloner," (1784,) pp. 162, 165—168.

him out of the number of translators. See what I have written to him, and give us your opinion.*

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, Oct. 27, 1790.

MR. BERINGTON was not applied to to preach the annual charity sermon, but only a Sunday-school sermon, at our place. He has sent a handsome refusal, a copy of which, as well as of my letter to him, I will send you. He hopes, he tells me, it may be prudent for him to do it some time hence, though not at present.

Mr. Russell said that his friends in London, particularly the bankers, depended upon a peace; but all appearances, as well as your accounts, are for war. The final issue of all things must be good. This is our consolation in all things.†

TO MR. FRENCH.‡

DEAR SIR,

Birmingham, Nov. 2, 1790.

YOU say not a word, in your last, about what required the speediest notice, in mine to you, from Leeds, viz. the tract that you said might properly accompany the new edition of Collins on Liberty.§ The press is set for the last sheet, and has continued so this month, waiting for your answer. I hope, therefore, you will delay no longer, but by Mr. Lindsey send it to me as soon as possible, unless you be clearly of opinion, that, on maturely considering the subject, it will not answer. In that case we shall soon finish here.

I cannot help smiling at all you say, of the difficulties in your province of the translation. I would very thankfully exchange with you. I am sure I might complain with as much eloquence, and as much truth as you do, on the subject of my insufficiency; but consider that all we profess is an improved and an improvable version; and with the helps that we all have, or may procure, a little plain good sense, with a

* *Orig. MS.*

† Post Office, Canterbury.

‡ *Orig. MS.*

§ See *supra*, p. 82.

general knowledge of the subject, is of more consequence than all the rest. As to making few changes in the present translation, the fewer the better, if they be not really wanted, which, in your part, will not be often. I hope you have Calasio, by Romaine; at least, you can have it from your libraries in Cambridge. It is an inestimable work.

As to Mr. Nesbitt,* you may, if you please, give my compliments to him, and tell him I think myself obliged by his candid notice of what I have written on the subject of the Miraculous Conception; but I have no thoughts at present of writing any more on the subject, at least till he has considered more of my arguments than as yet he appears to have done. I shall be most glad to encourage him all in my power, with respect to his reply to Dr. Edwards, whom I may perhaps briefly notice; but I wish to have the subject considered more at large, than I shall be disposed to do it. Now is the time to bring forward the evidences of Christianity, in every point of view; and I wish it to appear, that the greatest enemies of the corruptions of Christianity stand forth the most strenuous and the ablest defenders of Christianity itself, that the objection to us as Deists, or lukewarm Christians, may be no longer made.†

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.‡

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, Nov. 2, 1790.

I INCLOSE a parcel of letters, with my answers, which I beg you to forward. I also send my Resurrection sermon,§ with respect to which I request your freest opinion. It must, however, be returned in a few days, as I have promised to preach it at Dudley on Sunday sennight, Mr. Wood preaching our Sunday-school sermon. I meant to give it to your congregation, and shall keep it for that purpose, if you please. I am so much urged to print it, that I hope it will do some good; but be not you biassed by this. I am reading Peter Annet,|| and others, on the subject.

I send a parcel of sermons, &c. Send them to whom you

* See *supra*, p. 82.

† Essex Street.

‡ Orig. MS., communicated by Mr. Frend.

§ See *supra*, p. 83.

|| See I. 19.

please, in my name or your own. Do not forget Mrs. Rayner, Drs. Disney, Kippis, Price, Towers, Enfield, Blackburne; Messrs. Salte, Radcliffe, Barbould, Bretland, Toulmin. Mr. Johnson will take the trouble of some; and if you see Mr. Belsham, you may contrive so as not to send duplicates to any person.

I rejoice to hear that the war is unpopular, and the king disturbed at the idea of it.

I thank you for giving my History to Mr. Plachel. Consider the whole impression (which is my property, as also is that of Early Opinions) as devoted to any good use that can be made of the distribution of them. I have a letter, shewing the good that has arisen from a parcel of books I sent to Swansea, and I am making up another parcel. A person calling upon me, obliges me to conclude in haste.

P. S. My wife is at Heath, all pretty well. I am quite alone, and shall be so a fortnight, but shall be much at Mr. Russell's.*

TO REV. WILLIAM ASHDOWNE.†

DEAR SIR,

Birmingham, Nov. 2, 1790.

I SHALL be very glad to see what you have drawn up on the subject of *Satan*,‡ though I do not think it can be in my power to be of any use to you with respect to it, and therefore that it will be only losing valuable time to send it. It will answer a better purpose to shew it to Mr. Lindsey, which I would therefore advise.

I have read with attention what Mr. Nesbitt has written on the miraculous conception; but I do not find in it any argument that I was not apprized of, and had considered, and therefore my opinion is the same as before. I am much pleased with his candour.§

* *Orig.* MS.

† Dover.

‡ "An Attempt to shew that the Opinion, concerning the Devil or Satan, as a Fallen Angel, and that he Tempts Men to Sin, hath no real Foundation in Scripture." *Lond. Chron.* LXX. 172. See I. 105. Mr. Ashdowne also published "Two Letters to the Bishop of Llandaff, on the Operations of the Spirit."

§ *Orig.* MS.

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.*

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, Nov. 26, 1790.

I HAVE heard from Dr. Price, and have received from him the new preface, &c., to his sermon. It is much to the purpose, and I think I may make some use of it in my Letters to Mr. Burke.

I shall be glad to see the letter from Mr. Kirwan,† and shall hope to have it to-day, as I am going to put this into the post, and look for the parcel from you.

Dr. Price mentions his apprehensions of the attempts of the aristocrats to subvert the French government, but has no doubt of their being unsuccessful.

Lord Stanhope can hardly be serious in his design to impeach Mr. Burke of high-treason.‡ However, it will make the subject talked of.

I am reading, and with great satisfaction, Ramsay's History of the American Revolution, with a copy of which Mr. B. Vaughan presented me; and I shall quote a passage or two from it in my Letter to Mr. Burke.§

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, Dec. 23, 1790.

IN compliance with your wishes, I have cancelled the whole of the last letter, though the sheet was printed. The preceding letter will make a sufficiently good close. I have also cancelled the leaf where our ministry are said to be unfavourable to the French Revolution, and another that Dr. Price pointed out, where the 6th of October is put for the 14th of July, having also made some other alterations in it. The other passages I really think are trifles, and may be changed in a new edition, if there be any.

I cannot read Mr. Burke any more, being confident it would answer no good purpose; though, tired as I am of the business, having done thus much, I would not fail to do more, if I

* Essex Street.

† See *supra*, p. 2, note *.

‡ See Letter IV., V. XXII 175

§ Orig. MS.

had any prospect of doing better. It is time also to put an end to your anxiety about it, which is excessive.

Yours and Mrs. Lindsey's most affectionately.*

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, Dec. 27, 1790.

ON Friday, or at the farthest on Saturday, Mr. Johnson will receive 800 copies of the Letters to Mr. Burke.

I thank you for mentioning Mr. Hollis and Mr. Jeffries for presents. I have just written to Mr. Johnson, and mentioned a few more names, and among them Mr. Burke, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Heywood. Add any others that occur to you. He has offered me 50*l.* for it, which I have accepted.

I am glad to hear that things go on so well in France, and hope that in a short time all their difficulties will be over.

Be assured that I entirely approve of your rejection of my concluding Letter, at least the greatest part of it, and that I am truly thankful for so judicious a monitor. I am too apt to write in a hurry.†

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, Jan. 9, 1791.

I BEG you would express my most grateful acknowledgments to Mrs. Rayner, for her unceasing bounty to me. I shall not fail to write to her in my next parcel, which will contain some copies of the new edition of my *Letters*, and the tract of Lord Somers.‡

I have just received from Mr. Hartley his Life of his father.§ I cannot say I admire the composition, but it may do pretty well. I shall suggest to him a few additions.

I am glad to hear that Mr. Lee is again entering into public life. I hope he will be of some use to his country, though my expectations of him are not what they formerly were.||

* *Orig.* MS.

† *Orig.* MS.

‡ Probably "The Judgment of whole Kingdoms and Nations." See *Lett.* IV., W. XXII. 174.

§ Accompanying the "Observations on Man."

|| *Orig.* MS. Here is probably a reference to the coalition. See *supra*, p. 89.

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND,

1791.

WISHING to send you a few copies of the third edition of my Letters to Mr. Burke, I take the opportunity of sending Mr. Thompson's book.*

I believe your intelligence has led me into a mistake respecting the National Assembly. I am assured that the present members cannot sit in the next; but my information came too late for the third edition.

Having done with this business, I am now taking up the translation, to which I shall stick till my journey to London. By the way, desire Mr. Johnson to send me what Dr. Geddes has published.†

TO DR. PRICE.‡

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, Jan. 27, 1791.

I AM very happy to find that I have given you satisfaction with respect to Mr. Burke's gross abuse of you.§ These things do not, however, I hope, give you any material disturbance. They are the necessary consequences of any man's distinguishing himself, let him conduct himself in the best manner possible; and there is no field in which a man is exposed to more serious hatred than that of politics. This must always nearly affect the governing powers; and there are many depending upon them in all departments. I have sinned beyond forgiveness in many respects, but happily I am not apt to be disturbed at censure from any quarter, when I know it to be ill-founded. With respect to the Church, with which you have meddled but little, I have a long time ago drawn the sword, and thrown away the scabbard, and I am very easy about the consequences.

As to the Memoirs,|| you may as well keep them till I come. You will be so good as not to mention them to any person

* See "Familiar Letters." *Pref.*, W. XIX. 529.

† *Orig.* MS.

§ See *Lett.* V., W. XXII. 180, 181.

‡ Hackney.

|| See I. 418.

whatever. I wish you would write yours as much at large, and not confine yourself to a preface.

I wish much to see Dr. Franklin's Life, and hope it will be published by itself, and not merely annexed to his works, where it will be comparatively of very little use.

I rejoice with you that the French Revolution goes on, to all appearance, so well, and I hope the example will be followed in other countries. I also rejoice that the Russians are so near Constantinople. That is the only war that I wish to go on.*

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.†

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, Feb. 8, 1791.

I HAVE received, through Dr. Kippis, the invitation you led me to expect, to preach the annual sermon for the new college, but I have declined it, thinking it would be wrong to invite me before Mr. Wakefield, as hitherto the tutors only have preached on that occasion, and that it would be impossible to say any thing new, and to the purpose, after what had been already done by others, hinting also that, being still very obnoxious to many, my preaching at all might do the cause no good.

I wish also not to appear forward, as I am thought to be, to catch at every opportunity of exhibiting myself, and throwing out bold and insolent things before the public; and some such things I should be tempted to say, if I did preach this sermon, in present circumstances.

If, however, it be your opinion that such things might be said with propriety and effect, as necessary to be laid stress upon, considering the opposite maxims now taught in our Universities, and the sermons of churchmen, alluding to the sanction given to Mr. Burke's principles in the letter of thanks from Oxford, and the Bishop of Chester's sermon, &c., &c., shewing the state of things when the Universities were founded, how they suited those times, but not these, and the improbability of any change being made in old systems, from

* *Orig. MS.*

† *Essex Street.*

which so many derive emolument, &c., &c., I should have no great objection to the business. You should see my discourse in good time, and you know I always listen to your admonitions.

In this case, I leave it to you to inform Dr. Kippis of my consent; but I think that, when my reasons are considered, you will allow the force of them. To deliver common-place matter on education would not do. It would disappoint every body on such an occasion. I leave the whole business to you. Dispose of me as you think proper.

Tell Mr. Johnson he should send me the answers to Mr. Burke, that have come out since mine, as well as those before it, and the Reply to us all. How does the third edition sell?

I should think that Dr. Kippis's lectures may be given by Mr. Belsham and Mr. Wakefield jointly. When I was at Warrington I taught the languages, and taught all Dr. Kippis's lectures besides.*

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, Feb. 13, 1791.

I THANK you for mentioning my situation to the Duke of Grafton; but till I hear from you again, I own I do not see the propriety of thanking him for his intention. It looks like catching at his favours, and binding him to the performance of what he may not have absolutely promised.

I have seen the "Vindication" of Mr. Burke.† For sophistry and impudence I never saw any thing equal to it. Part of it, I think, must have been written by himself. Such defences will do no service to any cause with men of sense; but it will please the many admirers of Mr. Burke's own book.

Here I receive yours, and one from Mr. Belsham. My answer to him on the subject of the sermon I send open to you. It will give me a little time.

* *Orig.* MS. See I. 51—54.

† "In answer to all his opponents." Burke was also defended by Drs. Tatham and Cooper, "and by other light troops who occasionally made their appearance in the field." *N. A. Reg.* XII. 259.

I have just made an experiment of great consequence, and shall soon send an account of it to the Royal Society. It proves that water and the nitrous acid consist of the same elements. I shall lay it before our Lunar Society* on Monday.†

TO DR. PRICE.‡

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, Feb. 16, 1791.

I SHALL think myself happy if my Letters to Mr. Burke have done any service to the common cause of civil and religious liberty, and especially if they have given any pleasure to yourself. Every friend of liberty is interested in defending you, who are the great champion in the cause.

My memoirs are not to be published till after my death, and what I wished you to do was something of the same kind, as you would then write with greater freedom, and a greater confidence of an unprejudiced perusal. However, any sketch of your own life, written by yourself, will be very useful.

I am concerned to hear of the difficulties attending the New College, but have not as yet any clear idea how they have arisen. Whatever they be, I hope they are not insurmountable.

I am invited to preach your annual sermon, but have rather wished to decline it, thinking that the preference should have been given to Mr. Wakefield, and that it would be difficult to find any thing that would be new, and at the same time proper for the occasion, after so many had gone before me. However, I have since thought of a subject, and if no other person be applied to, shall not object to my appointment. It will lead me, however, to say several very strong things on the subject of civil and religious liberty, which may not please some of the hearers. I shall send the discourse to Mr. Lindsey, who will shew it to you for your opinion beforehand.

I have received your generous benefaction, and that of Mr. Brown, to whom I beg my compliments and thanks when you see him. It gives me, however, real concern to take from you.

* See I. 339.

† *Orig.* MS.

‡ Hackney.

I shall soon send to the Royal Society, through your hands, or those of Dr. Heberden, a paper of new experiments, in which I produce acid, by the explosion of dephlogisticated air, without any mixture of phlogisticated air whatever.*

With every good wish, and expecting the pleasure of seeing you pretty soon, I am, &c.†

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.‡

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, Feb. 23, 1791.

I WISH much too see Mr. Paine's answer to Mr. Burke; and if Mr. Johnson send me that, with M. Du Pont's, the Sober Reflections, another by Mr. Hudson, a justice of peace, near Worcester, the title of which I have forgotten, I think I shall have all from the time he left off sending them to me.

We want to see the new plan of the Unitarian Society.§ I expect much advantage from it.

I do not see any occasion for more than three tutors at the college, as we were at Warrington. My department included those of Mr. Wakefield and Dr. Kippis, and a good deal more.||

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, Feb. 28, 1791.

I SEND with this my paper for the Royal Society, which I wish you would deliver to Dr. Heberden.

I like much the introduction to the plan of the Unitarian Society, and hope much good from the thing itself. If any person want evidence of my being a Christian, they must for ever want it, and my discourse on the resurrection will not satisfy them.

I am glad to hear of the proceedings of the deputies in London. We have a committee of the district on Wednesday next, which, I am sorry to find, falls out on the same day with another meeting in London, as there may be some interference,

* See *infra*, p. 108.

† *Orig.* MS.

‡ *Essex Street.*

§ See *Mem. of Lindsey*, pp. 296—304.

|| *Orig.* MS.

though we shall endeavour to avoid it by doing very little. Mr. Walker* is expected to-night. When I see Mr. Russell, which will be to-morrow, I shall read him the part of your letter relating to him.

Mr. Russell greatly apprehends a fall of the stocks, in consequence of appearances of war; and Mr. Garbet shewed him a letter from Lord Lansdowne, in which he told him he might depend upon it that Mr. Pitt was determined to risk one.†

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND, *Birmingham, March 7, 1791.*

I HAVE just received an alarming account, from Mr. S. Palmer, of Dr. Price's illness, occasioned by a neglected cold. I flatter myself, however, that as I heard from you by the same post, and you had been at Mr. Vaughan's, that, if there had been much danger in the case, you would have heard of it, and have mentioned it. You will not fail to give me all the intelligence you can procure concerning a thing that interests us so much. Next to yourself, I should feel the loss of him the most sensibly.

I thank you for the trouble you have taken about my commissions. I shall have occasion to send you another paper for the Royal Society, to be given to Dr. Heberden.

I have heard nothing about my sermon, but I infer from a letter of Mr. Belsham's to Mr. Russell, that I am expected to preach. If so, I wish you would send me the sermon, as soon as you can get it, with your remarks. I have put down several hints for improvement.

I have no confidence in any clergyman's writing the life of Mr. Wesley properly, and it is a thing of some consequence. The father would have done it better.‡

I hope care will be taken to prevent the repetition of the riots, in 1780, and that nothing will prevent the relief of the Catholics. We have formed a strong resolution in their favour, as you will soon see.§

* Of Nottingham. See I. 422.

† *Orig. MS.*

‡ To this Life by Hampson, Dr. Priestley had supplied some materials. See *Pref.* to Wesley's Letters, W. XXV. 327.

§ *Orig. MS.*

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND, *Birmingham, March 9, 1791.*

I HAVE received yours, inclosing Mr. Duncombe's benefaction, for which I beg you would return him my thanks, which I hope to do in person ere long.

I forgot to send the inclosed along with my paper for the Royal Society, and must give you another trouble to deliver this to Dr. Heberden, or Mr. Planta. I have now completed an important, and, I believe, decisive set of experiments, and they will lead to several others.

I am glad to find, by yours, that you have some hopes of Dr. Price. May they be confirmed!

I hope you will send my sermon soon. Mr. Hawkes is just come to breakfast with me, so I must conclude.*

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FREIND, *Birmingham, March 11, 1791.*

I REJOICE that Dr. Price is out of danger.

I wish you would send, in a parcel, my papers for the Royal Society sent to Dr. Heberden, who has written to me on the subject, and pointed out some things that require correction.

What is the case with respect to Mr. Paine's pamphlet? Is the edition cancelled, or will it be sold in France and America, and a new one printed for England? Was Mr. Johnson threatened, or did he take the alarm of himself?†

I rejoice that the Catholic bill‡ goes on so well. I do believe the court and the high-church party are much embarrassed.

* *Orig. MS.*

† I heard the crown prosecutors of the proscribed, but never *answered*, "Rights of Man," take advantage of this "alarm" on the trial at Guildhall, Dec. 19, 1792.

‡ For the Relief "of Catholic Dissenters who had protested against the temporal and dispensing power of the Pope," introduced, "Feb. 21," by Mr. Mitford. "Mr. Fox asserted his opinion as formerly stated to the House, that 'the state had no right to inquire into the opinions of people, either political or religious; in his mind they had a right only to take cognizance of their actions.'"

"He entreated that the Bill might be made general; mentioned the ex-

I am anxious to know what will be done on the demise of Mr. Wesley. Mr. Hampson will have pretty early intelligence.*

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, March 14, 1791.

I AM very sorry that by a mistake the letter containing the paper for the Royal Society was put into the post office, and not sent in Mr. Russell's packet. I put you to expense of postage enough, without this addition.

Your letter, with the inclosure from his Grace,† came safe, and yesterday I wrote him a line of thanks. But these thanks are as much due to you as to him; for, without your kind suggestion, it would not have been procured. But there would be no end of recounting my obligations to you and Mrs. Lindsey.

I have received the whole of my College discourse, with your remarks, to which you may be sure I shall not fail to pay attention. I forget the day on which it is to be delivered; but I have laid my plan to leave Birmingham on the 11th, and stay three Sundays, as usual. The next week I go to Manchester, and spend one Sunday.

I hope the curious proviso‡ in the bill for the Catholics will be noticed both in the House and out of it. Suppose that on this occasion what I have said of it in the preface to my last Defences,§ were put into some public paper, or shewn to Mr. Fox. Mr. Berington says he cannot yet find out how that extraordinary clause came into their bill, but he shall endeavour to do it, and inform me of it.

I am glad that Mr. Paine's book is to be published as it was printed, though not by Johnson. It will be read the more on

tension of religious liberty in Prussia, Holland, France, &c., and said he should move to leave the word *protesting* out of the Bill." *N. A. Reg.* XII. 162, 163.

* *Orig.* MS.

† Probably of Grafton. See *supra*, p. 101.

‡ To except "persons writing against the Trinity."

§ *W.* XIX. 6, 7.

account of the stoppage. When does Mr. Christie's* answer, or Mr. Mackintosh's,† come out?‡

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, March 25, 1791.

I SHOULD have written several days ago, but I meant to send an improved copy of my paper for the Royal Society, and having made more experiments, I have not yet completed one to my mind, but I think you may depend upon receiving it on Monday, together with the sheets of the Life of Wesley, which I like very much. It will, no doubt, be superior to any life of him, and they need not doubt of a sale. But I would advise them, by all means, not to publish any volumes separately, but the whole at once. The inconvenience and loss attending the publishing volumes separately, is greater than any person could imagine. If they take this advice, I shall have time to draw up a letter for their use, though I shall probably send it along with the sheets, as a few lines will be sufficient.

I rejoice that Dr. Price has a chance of recovering, though I fear his situation will be painful, as well as hazardous, for some time to come.

I have deferred going to Manchester till the middle of the next week, at the request of my friends there. I am particularly requested to preach my Buxton sermon, on account of some reports given out by the Dean of Middleham; but of what nature I do not know. I am told they are curious. One of the clergy, it seems, who was at Buxton at the time, was so provoked at my being asked to preach, that he got leave of the

* "Letters on the Revolution of France, and on the New Constitution, occasioned by the Publications of the Right Honourable Edmund Burke, and Alexander de Calonne, late Minister of State. By Thomas Christie." *N. A. Reg.* XII. 258.

Mr. Lindsey to Mr. Turner, Newcastle, "May 12, 1791," says, "Mr. Christie's Answer to Mr. Burke is one of the noblest confutations of that orator's abusive misrepresentation of the French revolution." *Orig.* MS.

† "Vindiciæ Gallicæ, Defence of the French Revolution, and its English Admirers. By James Mackintosh." *N. A. Reg.* XII. 258.

‡ *Orig.* MS.

person who reads the prayers to deliver a discourse in opposition to me the Sunday following; but his conduct was so much disapproved by the company, that, after he began to deliver it, they walked out and left him alone. Mr. Worthington, who married Mr. Russell's sister, told me he had this from his brother-in-law, who was present, and heard us both. I think he says he walked out among the last. He has promised to send me the name of the clergyman.

The "Dissenting Attorney" you inquire after is thought to be Mr. Nash, of Royston. It is indeed an excellent piece.*

That the Chancellor should have suggested the clause concerning the Trinity in the Catholic bill, is indeed curious, and cannot escape animadversion. I am glad to hear that Lord Stanhope will notice it.

I hope to hear from you before I go to Manchester, and at Manchester, where I shall be at Dr. Percival's.†

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND,

Manchester, April, 1791.

YOU will have received a letter which I wrote before I left Birmingham, presently after the date of yours. I think I then told you that I had sent the paper for the Royal Society‡ to Mr. Watt,§ and that I should bring the sheets of the Life of Wesley with me.

I shall not forget the engagements you mention, and I wish you would make any others that you particularly wish, especially with Dr. Heberden, if you should see him before I come.

* "A Letter to the Right Honourable Edmund Burke, from a Dissenting Country Attorney, in defence of his Civil Profession and Religious Dissent," was justly attributed to Mr. Nash, whose friendship and society I enjoyed for many years. He closed an exemplary life, deservedly esteemed in his professional character, in 1829, aged 85. See M. R. (N. S.) IV. 132; Christian Reformer, XVI. 43.

† *Orig.* MS.

‡ "Experiments on Phlogistication of Spirit of Nitre. Read March 26, 1789." *Phil. Trans.* LXXIX. 139.

§ See I. 339.

Your account of Dr. Price gives me much concern. He was so much affected at the condition of Mr. Burgh, who was three years tortured by the stone, and died of it,* that he will be much distressed at the thought of having it himself. I doubt with you whether, if his frame would bear it, he would have the courage to submit to the operation.† We must all, however, submit to the will of God, who removes us when and how he pleases. All we have to do is to do all the good we can, while our powers are continued to us.

I can hardly think that the ministry will be so weak as to let the Catholic Bill‡ drop, after patronizing it so much as they have done. They will deserve every insult.

I came hither on Thursday last. After Wednesday next I return to Birmingham, and on the Monday following, if all be well, set out for London. As I shall be busy the few days I shall be at home, you must excuse me if you should not hear from me again till you see me, which will be, as usual, as soon as I arrive, so as to get to Mr. Vaughan's before evening.

Yesterday I preached for Mr. Hawkes, to a more crowded audience than I have ever preached to before, and as miscellaneous a one, by all accounts, as that at Buxton, and the same

* In 1782, aged 68. Dr. Franklin, writing to Dr. Price, from "Passy, June, 13, 1782," says of England, "The change in the sentiments of the nation, in which I see evident effects of your writings, with those of our deceased friend Mr. Burgh, and others of our valuable club, should encourage you to proceed." Mr. Morgan adds,

"The death of this amiable and excellent person had happened a few weeks before. He was the author of several valuable works on moral and political subjects, and in all of them proved himself the stedfast friend of virtue and liberty. His last publication, under the title of *Political Disquisitions*, though written under the excruciating agonies of the stone, abounds with the most important information on the extreme defectiveness of the national representation." *Mem. of Price*, pp. 95, 96.

Mr. Burgh, like Jebb, Cartwright, Granville Sharp, Sir W. Jones, and the Duke of Richmond, had ably advocated universal suffrage, against which there has been so much railing, and so little reasoning. Of any less extended plan Mr. Burgh justly complains that, thus, that "immense multitude of the people, the poor, though they have no share in determining who shall be the lawgivers of their country, have a very heavy share in raising the taxes which support government." *Pol. Dis.* (1774), I. 37.

† Dr. Price died April 19.

‡ See *supra*, pp. 105—108.

sermon, which I shall also give you. It is evident that by disregarding and boldly facing prejudice, it gives way in time, and finally has no unfavourable operation.

My son, Mr. Hawkes, and all your friends here, among them Mr. Toulmin and Mr. Lloyd, desire to be remembered to you.*

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, June 2, 1791.

I AM glad that you approve of my Address to the Methodists,† &c., and the additions to the discourse on the resurrection. I hope also you approved of the preface and Address to the Jews,‡ though you do not mention them. I am never quite satisfied, however I may like any thing myself, till I have your *imprimatur*.

The letters relating to Mr. Wesley will all be printed this week, and published some time in the next. I demur about offering the publication to the Methodists, as they may consider it as an insult, which I am far from intending.

I am much inclined, from Mr. Russell's account of Mr. Wakefield, to send Harry to him for about a year, after he has done with Mr. Estlin. I wish to make him a scholar, and though I shall take the care of him myself, before he goes to any academy, to give him a knowledge of philosophy and chemistry, it is so long since I taught the languages, that I should not do it to proper advantage; and, till he be a little older, he will be better from home. The expense is my only objection; but the time will not be long, as he will be well grounded by Mr. Estlin.

I am concerned at the difficulties of the French, as I hoped those of that kind, especially, had been over.

P. S. Mr. Russell told me, that when a person wrote for my Familiar Letters, the London bookseller said they were out of print. The same was formerly done by the Theological Repository.§

* *Orig.* MS.

† *W.* XX. 275.

† *W.* XXV. 331.

§ *Orig.* MS.

TO REV. JOSHUA TOULMIN.*

DEAR SIR,

Birmingham, June 25, 1791.

I AM very confident that I sent my name as a subscriber to your History of Taunton, and though I thank you for your kindness, I desire to pay for the book. Your friend is welcome to my name on the same terms.

I am glad my late publications gave you satisfaction, and shall be glad to see your sermon at the opening of the chapel, Plymouth Dock, which I hear was well received.

Mr. Wesley's letters will, I hope, afford you some amusement. They were those that Mr. Badcock gave me.† I have prefixed to them "An Address to the Methodists," which was well meant, whether it be well received or not.‡

TO REV. J. BRETLAND.§

DEAR SIR,

Birmingham, June 26, 1791.

I AM ashamed not to have answered your former letter sooner; but I really was not able to give you any satisfaction with respect to what you saw of *animal magnetism*. All that I ever saw was a poor woman thrown into an hysteric fit, which is a nervous affection, produced by many trifling causes. I have conversed with several persons conversant in the business, and have read a small publication, said by one of them to contain the true principle of the practice, and see nothing in it but what is usually called *imagination*, the power of which is very great.|| It is acknowledged, however, that many persons

* Taunton.

† See I. 381.

‡ *Orig. MS.* It was censured, and its doctrines controverted, by *Philetus*, "Sept. 6, 1791." *Arminian Mag.* XIV. 625—634.

§ Exeter.

|| "The following curious occurrence took place whilst Dr. Priestley was residing at Leeds: A poor woman unfortunately imagined herself to be possessed by a devil, and having heard that Dr. Priestley was a great philosopher, who could perform miracles, she applied to him to take away the evil spirit that tormented her. The doctor attentively listened to her statement, and being aware of her delusion, with his usual mildness and benevolence, he endeavoured to convince her that she was labouring under a mis-

cannot be affected by any treatment, as it is called. These I suppose have very strong nerves. However, every thing should be brought to the test of fair and repeated experiment. What was pretended to be done in France, whence it was brought hither would not stand this test, when it was inquired into by a deputation from the Academy of Sciences.

Mr. Reynell cannot be joined with myself, as we are already provided with a successor to Mr. Blythe, Mr. Edwards,* from Gateacre, near Liverpool, who studied under Mr. Belsham; but I expect a vacancy in this neighbourhood soon, and perhaps it may suit him. It is, however, only a place in a country village, ten miles from Birmingham, and not more than fifty or sixty pounds per annum. The minister we are persuading to resign, as he and the congregation do not agree.

I have seen Mr. Barham, and heard from him. You will be very happy in his society. If I read German with more ease, I should be glad to avail myself of the books he mentioned. We know too little of German literature, though the Germans read every thing of ours.

I have not seen Mr. Toulmin's sermon at the opening of the Unitarian chapel. We have in contemplation something of the same kind here, where Dissenters increase amazingly.

take. However, all his efforts proved unavailing, for the poor creature still persisted that the fact was as she stated; in order, therefore, to ease her mind, the doctor good-humouredly told her to call upon him the next day, and in the mean time he would consider her case.

"Agreeably to his request, the unhappy woman was punctual in her attendance, when the doctor, with a smile, informed her that he truly pitied her situation, but he hoped that he should be able to afford her some relief. His electrical apparatus being in readiness, with great gravity he desired the woman to stand upon the stool with glass legs, at the same time putting into her hand a brass chain connected with the conductor, and having charged her plentifully with electricity, he told her, very seriously, to take particular notice of what he did. He then took up a discharger, and applied it to her arm, when the escape of the electricity gave her a pretty strong shock. 'There,' says she, 'the devil's gone; I saw him go in that blue flame, and he gave me such a jerk as he went off. I have at last got rid of him, and I am now quite comfortable.' Dr. P. related the above at the table of one of his friends at Birmingham."—Communicated by Mr. W. Matthews.

* See L. 192, *ad fin.*

Last Sunday the *Swedenborgians* opened a most elegant place of worship. I was there in the evening. Nothing can be more attractive than every thing about it. We shall see what *appearance* will be able to do.

I have desired Mr. Johnson to send you a copy of the Letters relating to Mr. Wesley, which Mr. Badcock gave me. I have prefixed to them an "Address to the Methodists."

My best respects to your good father.*

TO REV. JOSEPH JEVANS.†

REV. SIR,

I AM not able to read the letter you was so good as to write to me, as I use a different short-hand, but Mr. Scholefield read it to me.

I am far from saying that it is impossible that Christ may have pre-existed; but I say it is both unscriptural and improbable that it should have been for the purpose of *creation*. While he was on earth, he declared that he could *do nothing of himself*, but that *the Father within him* did the works. He himself, therefore, could do no more than Moses or any other prophet; and of what use could Moses have been in the creation of the world, if he had pre-existed? That God should perform a miracle at the dictation of a man, may be of use as a part of the divine mission of that man, but the other could not have been of any imaginable use.

If that part of my History of Early Opinions relating to the *Gnostics* could be of use for the purpose you mention, I am far from having any objection to you or any other person making that use of it; but I have too many other pursuits to attend to it.‡

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.§

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, June 29, 1791.

I AM perfectly satisfied with your suppressing my Letter to Lord L——, and shall not at present think of any Address to the Bishops.

* Orig. MS. † Bloxam. ‡ M. R. XVI. 289. § Essex Street.

I inclose a copy of my Political Tract,* which will not be printed off till I hear from you. There is nothing in it that is at all objectionable, being the calmest discussion of important subjects. We are forming a Constitutional Society here, similar to that in Manchester, and I inclose the rules and principles of it. We propose to have two annual dinners, viz. the 14th of July and 4th of November.

Our anxiety during the King of France's escape, and our joy on his capture,† cannot be described. I hope the new consitution is now effectually established, and that all attempts to overturn it will be in vain. The high-party here are mortified in the extreme. They would have had France involved in a most ruinous civil war, for the imaginary rights of one man. A majority, I fear, of Englishmen are in these sentiments, so that we are far indeed behind the French. In spite of all we can write or do, an attachment to high maxims of government gains ground here, and the love of liberty is on the decline. Such is the influence of the court. Nothing but public difficulties will open our eyes.

I rejoice in the prospect of seeing you and Mrs. Lindsey this summer. I really should not know how to do without it. While Mr. Tayleur lives, at least let us never neglect to see him annually. His time, and indeed ours, cannot be long. Let us often meet, and encourage one another. The enemy is powerful, though we must not despair.

I hope the Preamble‡ will now stand. It would be better to omit it entirely, than alter it any more. When shall we see what Mr. Belsham§ wrote, to add to it?

I do not think that I shall go any whither this summer. I have much to do, and have no excuse, I thank God, on the score of bad health.||

* "Dialogue on the First Principles of Government." W. XXV. 81.

† See *N. A. Reg.* XII. 111—115.

‡ To the rules of the Unitarian Society. See *supra*, p. 103.

§ To whom Mr. Lindsey had thus written, "March 26: I have considered, again and again, the language objected to, *the creature and messenger of God*, and I do not see how we can relinquish it. And, *not his viceregent*, seems to have a particular propriety in it, as opposed to the worship which Socinus paid to Christ." *Orig.* MS.

|| *Orig.* MS.

CHAPTER II.

(1791—1794.)

I now enter, though with unavoidable reluctance, on that period of Dr. Priestley's history, when, like holy men of old, whose faith and patience have been the worthy objects of Christian imitation, he endured severe "trials of cruel mockings," and of irreparable "wrongs," yet cherishing towards his bitterest persecutors the lenient spirit of his divine Exemplar, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do."* Still further to aggravate those heavy inflictions, he had too much reason to complain, in common with his fellow-sufferers, of their country's tardy and imperfect justice.

Forty years have elapsed, since Birmingham was thus disgraced, not only throughout Great Britain, but to the extent of the civilized and scientific world. Happily, during the interval, the civic character of that great mart of ingenious industry has been redeemed. Her magistracy no longer exhibits a *Spencer* or a *Charles*. On her priesthood the mantle of a *Curtis*, or even of a *Madan*,† has not descended; and one of her clergy, who survives that period, has done honour to himself, amidst a very public assembly, by ranking the spirit of his controversy

* The text of Dr. Priestley's sermon on "The Duty of Forgiveness of Injuries," which he designed to have delivered at Birmingham, could he have safely returned. Mr. Coates kindly supplied his place, when "the hearers consisted of the congregations of both the Old and New Meeting." See W. XV. 476.

† See W. XIX. 468—491.

with Dr. Priestley among the infelicities and indiscretions of his earlier days.*

After describing the *paper-war* with the clergy of Birmingham, who had hitherto brought to the combat only "words that burn," the Memoir thus proceeds :

(195.) From these small pieces I was far from expecting any serious consequences. But the Dissenters in general being very obnoxious to the court, and it being imagined, though without any reason, that I had been the chief promoter of the measures which gave them offence, the clergy, not only in Birmingham, but through all England, seemed to make it their business, by writing in the public papers, by preaching, and other methods, to inflame the minds of the people against me ; and on occasion of the celebration of the anniversary of the French revolution, on July 14, 1791, by several of my friends, but with which I had little to do,† a mob, encouraged by some persons in power, first burned the meeting-house in which I preached, then another meeting-house in the town, and then my dwelling-house, demolishing my library, apparatus, and, as far as they could, every thing belonging to me.‡ They also

* See *supra*, p. 5, *note*.

† Nor was present. See W. XIX. 373.

‡ "A person who was in his library during the demolition of the house," thus writes to Dr. Priestley : "The road for half a mile of my approach was strewed with your books, the mob were carrying others away, and there were not above twelve octavoës on the shelves, when I entered the room, the floor of which was totally covered, two or three inches deep, with torn leaves, chiefly manuscript." W. XIX. 578.

Mr. Arthur Young, in his "Tour through Warwickshire," before he had become a courtly alarmist, and an apologist of the Inquisition, (see W. XXII. 523, *note*;) thus indignantly refers to these transactions :

"Seeing, as I passed, a house in ruins, on inquiry I found it was Dr. Priestley's. I alighted from my horse, and walked over the ruins of that laboratory which I had left home with the expectation of reaping instruction in ; of that laboratory, the labours of which have not only illuminated mankind, but enlarged the sphere of science itself ; which has carried its master's fame to the remotest corners of the civilized world ; and will now, with equal celerity, convey the infamy of its destruction to the disgrace of the age, and the scandal of the British name.

"The close of the eighteenth century, the period for giving lectures of high-church and Sacheverel, passive obedience, non-resistance, and the sovereign efficacy, to the hardware of Birmingham, of mitred fronts in

burned, or much damaged, the houses of many Dissenters,* chiefly my friends, the particulars of which I need not recite, as they will be found in two *Appeals*, which I published on the subject, written presently after the riots.†

courts and parliaments! These are the *pulpit* principles that have scrawled *Church and King* on all the barns and stables that I pass. These are the principles that instigated a mob of miscreants: I beg pardon, of ‘Friends and Fellow-churchmen,’ attached to Church and King, to act so well for the reputation of this country.” To “Friends and Fellow-churchmen” Mr. Young annexes the following explanatory note (see W. XIX. 553):

“Called so, in an address to the mob, while engaged in their plunderings and burnings, in the same hand-bill that speaks of the *king’s laws*. May not that address be translated into plainer English: *You are a set of honest fellows, engaged in a good cause, which, however, you have pushed a little too far!* What a miracle after, that the whole town was not plundered and burnt!” See Major Cartwright’s “Commonwealth in Danger,” (1795,) *Appendix*, pp. 155, 156.

Cowper to “Rev. W. Bagot. Weston, Aug. 2, 1791. You live, I think, in the neighbourhood of Birmingham. What must you not have felt on the late alarming occasion? You, I suppose, could see the fires from your windows. We, who only heard the news of them, have trembled. Never, sure, was religious zeal more detestably manifested, or more to the prejudice of its own cause.” *Letters*, (1806,) III. 340.

* “July 19. The Methodists and followers of the late Countess of Huntington have all been protected. In the beginning of the riots, the mob went to some of their houses, and questioned them concerning the doctrines they professed, and on their declaring for Church and King, they were assured that they should remain unmolested. The church people walk about as usual, without the smallest apprehension of danger.

“During the whole of those transactions, the populace have continually shouted, ‘God save the King; Long live the King and the Constitution in Church and State; Down with the Dissenters; Down with all the abettors of French rebellion; Church and King; Down with the Rumps; No Olivers; No false Rights of Man.’” *Lond. Chron.* LXX. 64.

† “This morning an express arrived at the Secretary of State’s office from Birmingham, with an account that a great number of persons, to the amount of some hundreds, who were in opposition to the Revolutionists, had assembled on Thursday last before the house where the Society dined, and broke all the windows. They then pulled part of the house down, and proceeded to the different meeting-houses, which they laid level with the ground. After which, they broke into the house of Dr. Priestley, took every thing out, burnt his books, drank the wine, and other liquor found in his cellars, and, when the express came away, were demolishing the house to the foundation. The whole town was in an uproar, and the greatest confusion and riot prevailed. A messenger was dispatched to His Majesty at Windsor with the above particulars.” *Ibid.* July 14—16, 1791.

(196.) Being in some personal danger on this occasion, I went to London; and so violent was the spirit of party which then prevailed, that I believe I could hardly have been safe in any other place.

(197.) There, however, I was perfectly so, though I continued to be an object of troublesome attention, until I left the country altogether. It shewed no small degree of courage and friendship in Mr. William Vaughan to receive me into his house, and also in Mr. Salte,* with whom I spent a month at Tottenham; but it shewed more in Dr. Price's congregation, at Hackney, to invite me to succeed him, which they did, though not unanimously, some time after my arrival in London.†

(198.) In this situation I found myself as happy as I had been at Birmingham; and, contrary to general expectation, I opened my lectures to young persons with great success, being attended by many from London; and though I lost some of the hearers, I left the congregation in a better situation than that in which I found it.

(199.) On the whole, I spent my time even more happily at Hackney than ever I had done before, having every advantage for my philosophical and theological studies, in some respect superior to what I had enjoyed at Birmingham, especially from my easy access to Mr. Lindsey, and my frequent intercourse with Mr. Belsham, professor of divinity in the New College,‡ near which I lived. Never, on this side the grave, do I expect to enjoy myself so much as I did by the fire-side of Mr. Lindsey, conversing with him and Mrs. Lindsey on theological and other subjects, or in my frequent walks with Mr. Belsham,§ whose views of most important subjects were, like Mr. Lindsey's, the same with my own.

* See I. 354.

† Dr. Disney to "Mr. Friend, Cambridge, Nov. 14, 1791," says, "Dr. Priestley was elected at Hackney, 51 to 19." *Orig. MS.*

‡ See *supra*, pp. 43, 47.

§ Who thus describes them, at the affecting period of their termination: "After Dr. Priestley had given notice of his intention to leave the country, the writer of this Memoir had frequent opportunities of accompanying him in his walks to visit and take leave of his friends.

(200.) I found, however, my society much restricted with respect to my philosophical acquaintance, most of the members of the Royal Society shunning me on account of my religious or political opinions, so that I at length withdrew myself from them, and gave my reasons for so doing in the preface to my “Observations and Experiments on the Generation of Air from Water,” which I published at Hackney;* for,

“The conversation upon these occasions usually turned upon some interesting subjects. Upon one occasion the topic of discussion was the second advent of Christ; and Dr. Priestley, who had studied the Apocalypse with great attention, inferred from the state of the world, compared with the language of prophecy, that the second personal appearance of Christ was very near at hand. ‘You,’ says he, ‘may probably live to see it; I shall not. It cannot, I think, be more than twenty years.’”

On this fond expectation, and some equally hasty conclusions of other pious and learned investigators of the Apocalypse, Mr. Belsham justly remarks “how grievously the most enlightened minds may err, when they attempt to apply the language of prophecy to passing events!” *Mem. of Lindsey*, pp. 375, 376, *note*. See W. XV. 513—515.

* In 1793, with a “Dedication to the Members of the Lunar Society.” (See I. 339.) In “the preface,” Dr. Priestley refers to his *Appeal*, where he had “said that notwithstanding what had passed with respect to the repeated rejection of Mr. Cooper,” whom he “and several others, the most scientific members of the Royal Society,” (see W. XIX. 503—505,) had “recommended,” he “should not quarrel with the institution.” He then adds,

“This was my real intention at the time; but the Society, by rejecting another respectable candidate, who had the most ample testimonials in his favour, merely on account of his supposed political principles, has shewn a fixed determination to reject any candidate whose political principles they do not approve; and this has made me conclude that any communications from *me* would be unacceptable to them. I therefore shall not trouble the Society with them, but adopt this less eligible mode of publication.

“Since, however, the friends of philosophy in this country *must* separate, on the ground of *religion* and *politics*, things entirely foreign to our professed object, which is *natural science*, may the separation have no farther consequence than that of producing a generous emulation who shall most advance the common cause of science, the friends of *church and king*, as they affect exclusively to call themselves, or the friends of *liberty*, among whom, at all times, and in all circumstances, I shall be proud to rank myself. We are, it is true, but a small minority, but not deficient, I trust, in ability, activity, and energy, qualities which will always make men respected, though oppressed.” The preface thus concludes:

“Having objects enow of my own, I have always carefully refrained from putting my sickle into any other man’s harvest; but if any person, seeing the track that I am in, choose to step before me, and anticipate me

with the assistance of my friends, I had in a great measure replaced my apparatus, and had resumed my experiments, though after the loss of nearly two years.

(201.) Living in the neighbourhood of the New College, I voluntarily undertook to deliver the lectures to the pupils on the subject of "History and General Policy," which I had composed at Warrington,* and also on "Experimental Philosophy, particularly including Chemistry," the "Heads" of which I drew up for this purpose, and afterwards published.† In being useful to this institution, I found a source of considerable satisfaction to myself. Indeed, I have always had a high degree of enjoyment in lecturing to young persons, though more on theological subjects than on any other.

(202.) After the riots in Birmingham, I wrote "An Appeal to the Public" on the subject, and that being replied to by the clergy of the place,‡ I wrote a "Second Part," to which, though they had pledged themselves to do it, they made no reply; so that, in fact, the criminality of the magistrates, and other principal high-church men at Birmingham, in promoting the riot, remains acknowledged. Indeed, many circumstances which have appeared since that time, shew that the friends of the court, if not the prime ministers themselves, were the favourers of that riot, having, no doubt, thought to intimidate the friends of liberty by the measure.

(203.) To my *Appeal* I subjoined various "Addresses" that were sent to me from several descriptions of persons in

in any thing that I have in view, he is very welcome. The field is sufficiently ample to find employment for all the labourers, if we were ten times more numerous than we are.

"As the time that I have to devote to these pursuits is very uncertain, and will probably not be long, I wish to make the most of it; and as the generous friends of science have enabled me to resume these pursuits, I wish to convince them that their confidence in me has not been misplaced. Least of all would I be deficient in gratitude to that Being who is the Author of all good, and to whom, according to my motto, (*Deus nobis hæc otia fecit*,) I ultimately ascribe the *means* and the *leisure* that I enjoy to prosecute these pleasing inquiries."

* See W. XXI. 594 *note*; XXIV. 4.

† In 1794, with a "Dedication to the Students." W. XXV. 386.

‡ "Who employed the pen of Mr. Burn." See W. XIX. 434.

England and abroad; and from them I will not deny that I received much satisfaction, as it appeared that the friends of liberty, civil and religious, were of opinion that I was a sufferer in that cause. From France I received a considerable number of addresses; and when the present *National Convention* was called, I was invited by many of the departments to be a member of it; but I thought myself more usefully employed at home, and that I was but ill qualified for a business which required knowledge which none but a native of the country could possess, and therefore declined the honour that was proposed to me.*

(204.) But no addresses gave me so much satisfaction as those from my late congregation, and especially of the young persons belonging to it, who had attended my lectures. They are a standing testimony of the zeal and fidelity with which I did my duty with respect to them, and which I value highly.

(205.) Besides congratulatory addresses, I received much pecuniary assistance from various persons and bodies of men, which more than compensated for my pecuniary losses, though what was awarded me at the assizes fell two thousand pounds short of them; but my brother-in-law, Mr. John Wilkinson, from whom I had not at that time any expectation, in consequence of my son's leaving his employment, was the most generous on the occasion. Without any solicitation, he immediately sent me five hundred pounds, and afterwards transferred to me ten thousand pounds, which he had deposited in the French funds, and until that be productive, he allows me two hundred pounds per annum.

(206.) After the riots, I published my "Letters to the Swedenborgian Society,"† which I had composed and prepared for the press just before.

(207.) Mr. Wakefield living in the neighbourhood of the college, and publishing at this time his objections to *public*

* See W. XV. 525; XIX. 506. "The first legislative Assembly met Oct. 1, 1791." *N. A. Reg.* XIII. 115.

† "The New Jerusalem Church, formed by Baron Swedenborg." W. XXI. 43.

worship,* they made a great impression on many of our young men, and in his preface he reflected much on the character of Dr. Price.† On both these accounts I thought myself called upon to reply to him, which I did in a series of “Letters to a Young Man.” But though he made several angry replies,‡ I never noticed any of them. In this situation I also answered Mr. Evanson’s “Observations on the Dissonance of the Evangelists, in a Second Set of Letters to a Young Man.”§ He also replied to me,|| but I was satisfied with what I had done, and did not continue the controversy.

(208.) Besides the Sermon which I delivered on my acceptance of the invitation to the meeting at Hackney,¶ in the preface to which I gave a detailed account of my *system of catechising*, I published two “Fast Sermons,” for the years 1793 and 1794, in the latter of which I gave my ideas of ancient prophecies, compared with the then state of Europe; and in the preface to it I gave an account of my reasons for leaving the country.** I also published a “Farewell Discourse.”††

(209.) But the most important of my publications in this situation were a series of “Letters to the Philosophers and Politicians of France on the Subject of Religion.”‡‡ I thought that the light in which I then stood in that country, gave me some advantage in my attempts to enforce the evidence of natural and revealed religion. I also published a set of “Discourses on the Evidences of Revealed Religion,”§§ which I first delivered by public notice, and the delivery of which was attended by great numbers. They were printed just before I left England.

The following correspondence, including Addresses to Dr. Priestley from public bodies, and several of his

* In “A Short Inquiry into the Expediency and Propriety of Public or Social Worship.” *Ed.* 3, 1792. See W. XX. 303.

† These passages were omitted in the third edition. See *ibid.* p. 307.

‡ See *ibid.* pp. 306, 313, *notes*.

§ *Ibid.* p. 352.

|| In “A Letter to Dr. Priestley’s Young Man.”

¶ Dec. 4. 1791. W. XV. 458.

** *Ibid.* pp. 494—552.

†† March 30, 1794. *Ibid.* p. 552.

‡‡ See W. XXI. 87.

§§ Dedicated to Mr. Belsham. W. XV. 193.

replies, will further describe his various occupations during the period which elapsed between his escape from Birmingham, which he never again visited, and his finally quitting England.

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.*

DEAR FRIEND,

Dudley,† July 15, 1791.

WHEN I wrote my last, little did I foresee what soon after happened; but the will of God be done.

The company were hardly gone from the inn,‡ before a drunken mob rushed into the house, and broke all the windows. They then set fire to our meeting-house, and it is burned to the ground. After that they gutted, and, some say, burned the old meeting.

In the mean time, some friends came to tell me that I and my house were threatened, and another brought a chaise to convey me and my wife away. I had not presence of mind to take even my MSS.; and after we were gone, the mob came and demolished every thing, household goods, library, and apparatus. Indeed, they say the house itself is almost demolished, but happily no fire could be got,§ so that many things, but I know not what, will be saved.

We thought that when it was day, the mob would disperse, and therefore we kept in the neighbourhood; but finding they rather increased, and grew more outrageous with liquor, we were advised to go off, and are now on our way to Heath.

My wife behaves with wonderful courage. The recollection of my lost MSS. pains me the most, especially my Notes on the New Testament, which I wanted only five days of getting all transcribed.|| But, I doubt not, all will be for

* Essex Street.

† See *Narrative*, W. XIX. 377.

‡ “They dispersed about five o’clock.” *Ibid.* p. 374.

§ “My son having taken the precaution to put out all the fires in the house, and others of my friends got all the neighbours to do the same. I afterwards heard that much pains was taken, but without effect; to get fire from my large electrical machine, which stood in the library.” *Ibid.* pp. 376, 377.

|| *Ibid.* p. 380, *note*.

good in the end. I can hardly ever live at Birmingham again.

In great haste, with my wife's best respects, yours and Mrs. Lindsey's most affectionately.

I am impatient to hear from you and my son at Manchester. We left William safe, though he had been in the mob.*

TO REV. C. ROTHERAM.†

DEAR SIR,

London, July 21,‡ 1791.

As Mr. Lindsey has a cover for you, I take the opportunity of giving you a line myself. I thank God that myself and family are safe: but since, as far as I know, all my sermons are gone, I beg you would send me those of Mr. Graham,§ that you had of me. I am obliged to keep at a distance from Birmingham at present, and once thought of going to Castle-Head, where I should have had the pleasure of seeing you; but it is rather too far off.

I give you joy of the increase of your family, and hope your happiness will never meet with such an interruption as I have had; but I find no want of health or spirits, and my friends abundantly supply all my wants.

I am, in haste, with my best respects to Mrs. Rotheram, dear Sir, yours sincerely.||

TO MR. RUSSELL.¶

DEAR SIR,

London, July 29, 1791.

I AM willing to hope, from the account of Mr. Lewis and others, that your inquiry goes on pretty well, though not so

* *Orig.* MS. See "Letter to the Inhabitants of Birmingham, London, July 19," W. XIX. 540.

† Kendal.

‡ Having arrived "on Monday morning, July 18." W. XIX. 378.

§ Copy of a hand-bill distributed in London, the day after I arrived there: 'Dr. Priestley is a damned rascal, an enemy both to the religious and political constitution of this country, a fellow of a treasonable mind, consequently a bad Christian; for it is not only the duty, but the glorious ambition of every good Christian, to fear God and honour the King.'" *Appeal*, p. 147; W. XIX. 394.

§ See I. 41.

¶ *Orig.* MS.

¶ Birmingham.

well as you once expected. Every thing I find, as I expected, depends upon yourself, and I much fear your health will suffer by your constant exertions. I hope, however, you are apprized of this, and that you are not insensible how much depends upon your valuable life. May God preserve you, and give a happy termination to this affair!

On Wednesday I dined with Mr. Sheridan, in order, as he said, to meet Mr. Fox, who, however, was not there, but desired Mr. Sheridan to tell me that he was ready to take the matter up in the House of Commons in whatever manner we should think proper. They conceive that the encouragement given by the court to the high-church party was intended to crush Mr. Fox, and those who took our part, and to intimidate both them and us. I cannot, however, think that there is much in this, and I am very unwilling to connect our cause with that of any political party, as, upon the face of it, it is evidently of a purely religious nature. I therefore differ from most of our friends here, and wish, with you, to shew no distrust of government, since our end will be answered, whether they appear in earnest to redress our grievances or not. Our tribunal is our country and the world; and before this our court, as well as ourselves, must appear, and we cannot doubt an equitable decision.

The same bad spirit pervades the whole kingdom, though the storm was, I doubt not, directed to break out here. Had Dr. Price been living, it is taken for granted that Hackney would have suffered as much as Birmingham, and that the College would not have been spared. Mr. Walker's* letter, which I inclose, and which I wish you to preserve, will shew you the spirit that prevails at Manchester, and we have similar accounts from all the west of England. It is, indeed, an alarming crisis that things are come to. But we cannot doubt that a wise and good Providence superintends and directs the whole. I long to be with you on many accounts. Mr. Keir†

* Thomas Walker, the subject of a vexatious prosecution by "Church and King," as will appear in the later correspondence.

† See I. 325, *ad fin.*

thinks it had better be soon than later. It may, however, be advisable to defer it, till the legal inquiry be over.

With my earnest prayers and best wishes, and with respects to all my friends, especially my fellow-sufferers, I am, dear Sir, yours sincerely.*

FROM THE PROTESTANT DISSENTERS IN GREAT YARMOUTH.

REV. SIR,

Yarmouth, July 29, 1791.

WE, ministers and members of the Three Denominations of Protestant Dissenters in Great Yarmouth, beg leave to express to you the interest we take in the late calamitous events which have befallen you. Differing in various matters of opinion, we all agree in warm admiration of your high abilities, your zealous researches after Christian truth, and your distinguished exertions in the cause of civil and religious liberty. These qualities, which have made you the peculiar mark of the vengeance of bigotry, render your safety and welfare proportionably dear to us.

Whilst we lament your losses, not only as those of an individual, but of the public, we receive a consolation in the magnanimity with which you have borne them, and in the testimony this event has given to the world, of the difference between the temper and conduct of those who support a good cause, and of those who oppose it.

What will be the final result of so atrocious an act we presume not to pronounce; but one good effect from it we think we can foresee, that of drawing closer the bands of union and amity amongst all the different bodies of Dissenters, who must henceforth feel that they have a common concern in each other's welfare and security.

We request you to convey our cordial sentiments of condolence to your fellow-sufferers, and remain, with sincere esteem and every good wish, Rev. Sir, your friends and fellow-christians.†

* *Orig.* MS.

† *Appeal*, Ed. 2, (1792,) p. 161. "Rev. Samuel Neely, John Shelley, William Palmer, for the Independents. Rev. J. M. Benyon, Rev. M.

TO MR. ADAM WALKER.*

DEAR SIR,

London, July 30, 1791.

I WISHED much to know how to direct to you, that I might inform you that I hear your precious MS. is safe. There has been a general wreck, but some planks are got to shore, though what they are I have not as yet had any distinct account.

Had I had any idea that the mob meant any thing more than to insult me, I might have carried off all my most valuable papers. But their plan had been laid some time, and was steadily pursued by some cool heads among the many drunken ones.

My wife and I were playing at backgammon, after supper,† when the alarm was given us; and a friend brought a chaise to take us immediately away. I hardly slept for four nights. Two of them I was in a chaise, or post-coach, and the other two on horseback. This was owing not so much to my own apprehensions of danger, as to those of others.

My wife is with her daughter. Yours and Mrs. Walker's most sincerely.‡

FROM M. CONDORCET.

Paris, July 30, 1791.

SIR, AND MOST ILLUSTRIOUS ASSOCIATE,

THE Academy of Sciences have charged me to express the grief with which they are penetrated at the recital of the persecution of which you have been lately the victim.

Maurice, Thomas Hurry, John Drake, for the Presbyterians. Rev. J. Thomas, minister of the New Chapel; John Brown, pastor of the General Baptists; Jabez Brown, pastor of the particular Baptists."

* At Captain Brookbank's, Lancaster.

† "Mr. Adam Walker, the ingenious and well-known lecturer in Natural Philosophy, was passing through the town with his wife and family, and dined with me at my own house, for the last time, on that day. Before dinner, I had walked to the town with him, and they left me in the evening." *Appeal*, W. XIX. 375.

‡ *Orig.* MS., among the *autographs* of the late Mr. Samuel Parkes.

They all feel how much loss the sciences have experienced by the destruction of those labours which you had prepared for their aggrandizement. It is not you, Sir, who have reason to complain. Your virtue and your genius still remain undiminished, and it is not in the power of human ingratitude to forget what you have done for the happiness of mankind. They only ought to be unhappy whose guilty conduct has led their reason astray, and whose remorse has already punished their crimes.

You are not the first friend of liberty, against whom tyrants have armed the very people whom they have deprived of their rights. These are the only means which they can make use of against him whose disinterestedness of mind, whose elevation of soul, and whose purity of conduct, equally shelter him from their seductions and their vengeance.

They calumniate such a person, when they can neither intimidate nor corrupt him. They arm prejudices against him, when they dare not arm the laws; and that which they have done in regard to you, is the noblest homage that tyranny dares to render to probity, to talents, and to courage.

At this present moment a league is formed throughout Europe against the general liberty of mankind; but, for some time past, another has existed, occupied with propagating, and with defending this liberty, without any other arms than those furnished by reason, and these will finally triumph.

It is in the necessary order of things that error should be momentary, and truth eternal. Men of genius, supported by their virtuous disciples, when placed in the balance against the vulgar mob of corrupt intriguers, the instruments, or the accomplices of tyrants, must at length prevail against them.

The glorious day of universal liberty will shine upon our descendants, but we shall, at least, enjoy the *aurora*; and you, Sir, have contributed not a little to accelerate that happy event by your labours, by the example of your virtues, by the indignation which all Europe feels against your persecutors, and by the interest and the admiration which a misfortune has excited, that, although it may wound, cannot subdue your soul.

I am, with an inviolable and respectful attachment, Sir, and my very illustrious associate, your humble and most obedient servant.*

TO M. CONDORCET.

SIR,

I AM more than consoled for my losses in finding that the members of the Academy of Sciences have done me the honour to interest themselves in my affairs, and especially in observing that the friends of philosophy are, what they ever ought to be, the friends of general liberty. With us there is an example of the enemies of the one being also the enemies of the other. Having always been an avowed advocate of public liberty, civil and religious, which led me to write in defence of your late glorious revolution, the great body of the clergy in this country, and many of those who call themselves the friends of the king, have long been my enemies; and, in accomplishing my ruin, they have not spared the instruments of that *science*, my application to which gave some degree of weight to my labours in another field.

But do not, Sir, suppose that *these* friends of the Church and King are the English nation. They are no more than a faction, whom a failure in the way of argument has rendered desperate. The sober part of the nation think more justly, and equally disapprove their maxims, and the methods they take to enforce them. The English nation, in general, respect the French; and though too many of them are, at present, under a temporary delusion, will vie with you in every thing truly liberal, in whatever can contribute to the honour and happiness of the country at home, and to its living in peace and good-will with all its neighbours, and especially with yourselves, whose exertions in favour of universal liberty, and universal peace, will for ever endear you to us.

Assure my brethren of the Academy, that, honoured by their choice of me for an associate, and by their generous sympathy on the present occasion, I shall not fail, while my life and my

* *Appeal*, p. 154.

faculties are continued to me, to resume my philosophical pursuits, and endeavour to shew our common enemies that a genuine love of science, and of liberty, is inextinguishable, except with life, and that unreasonable and wicked opposition tends to animate, rather than depress, the mind that is penetrated with it.

In perfect confidence that whatever is *true* and *right* will finally prevail, and that every mode of opposition will only contribute to their more complete establishment, I subscribe myself, with respect, Sir, their and your very humble servant.*

FROM THE SOCIETY OF THE FRIENDS OF THE CONSTITUTION, SITTING AT THE JACOBINS.

SIR,

Paris, 1791.

MANY learned societies have already offered you, and will yet offer you, the tribute of their sensibility on the loss which science has suffered by the attack made on your property, in its most precious particular, your cabinet and manuscripts. In times less troublesome, this loss, afflicting to all classes of men, would even have affected many of those who have now had the cruelty to rejoice in it, and who have entertained against your political principles a hatred, which perhaps they do not feel towards you personally. You are the victim of the interest which you have taken in the cause of human nature, triumphant in the greatest revolution which ever occurred.

You have interrupted the course of your labours and discoveries in physics, to justify the French nation against the absurd charges brought against them, and multiplied by their oppressors, who are driven from a land of liberty. The cries of their despair, their exaggerated reproaches, their calumnious imputations, had, for a moment, spread delusion over neighbouring nations. They desire to interpose between them and France a cloud, which, in passing, should obscure, if not totally conceal from their view, the glory of the French revolution.

You, Sir, penetrated this cloud, and drew from it some

* *Ibid.* p. 156.

sparks of light, which, since, have not ceased to illuminate the nations. One of your writings has victoriously repulsed the attack of one of our most unjust detractors.* From this your name, already dear in Europe, to all those who cultivate the arts, or who improve their reason, becomes particularly dear to Frenchmen. The Society of the Friends of the Constitution were able to reckon one friend more; and, recently, on the news of the misfortune which has happened to the sciences and to the world, more than to yourself, they united, with zeal and affection, an emotion of indignation against those who excited the criminal attack, already punished by the noble and touching letter which you addressed to your fellow-citizens,† and which, without doubt, is expiated, in part, by the remorse of the most of them.

The ignorance of the people is the patrimony of tyrants; but it ceases. Repentance succeeds, and presently it chastises, on the heads of those who instigate to crimes, the crime of drawing forth popular delusion. The victim foresees the instant of vengeance, without permitting himself to hasten it. He consoles himself in seeing the diffusion through his country, and through Europe, of the generous principles of sociability, the power of which, every day augmented, is manifested in the innumerable testimonies of an universal interest in his calamity.

We believe, Sir, that we enter into the secret of your character, in persuading ourselves that it is under this point of view alone that these testimonies of an affecting esteem cannot be indifferent to you. They are proofs of the progress of these social ideas, of the public spirit which calls a free people to the practice of the virtues requisite to the maintenance of liberty, which, strengthening at home, concurs in spreading it around, and even, perhaps, in perfecting it among those nations who enjoyed but an incomplete freedom.

In fine, these testimonies announce the development of that philanthropic patriotism, which regards all felicity; an idea so superior to the conceptions of despots and slaves, as to be the object of their contemptible derision, but which posterity will bless as the happy fruit of that philosophy, too modern, which

* *Burke.*

† July 19. W. XIX. 540.

reckons the illustrious Priestley among its most ardent propagators.*

TO THE PRINTER OF THE BIRMINGHAM GAZETTE.

SIR,

1791.

I DO not now write to complain of my sufferings in general, but of one in particular, which may in some measure be alleviated.

Private letters are a species of property peculiarly sacred. No person of honour will even look in a letter not directed to himself; and yet many of mine, I understand, are circulated, read, and detained from me, without any regard to decency or justice. A stranger picked up two that had been written to me by a late bishop, and instead of sending them to *me*, he sent them to the present bishop of the same see, who, also, instead of sending them to me, sent them to the son of the late bishop, from whom I had just received them.

To have private letters (which are often improper to be seen by one's nearest friends) exposed to every impertinent eye, is one of the most painful circumstances in my situation. I hope, therefore, that even enemies, who have any regard to their character, will send any letter of mine that may fall into their hands, sealed up, to those who will convey them to me with the least expense. There are dishonourable, as well as honourable, methods of annoying an adversary.

It may be necessary to inform some persons that no one can detain or destroy the property of another, (and letters are property,) without being subjected to an action. If any private papers be sent to a Secretary of State,† and he be bound by the rules of justice and honour, he will return them, or, at least, copies of them, to the person whose property they are.‡

* See "Authentic Account of the Riots in Birmingham, July, 1791, &c.; compiled, to preserve to Posterity the genuine Particulars and Conexions of an Event which attracted the Attention of Europe," p. 68.

† As Dr. Priestley's "MS. papers" were, by Rev. "Mr. Curtis," to Secretary Dundas, (Lord Melville,) and which he, with "equal meanness and injustice," allowed himself to detain. See W. XIX. 486.

‡ See "Account of the Riots," p. 47.

FROM THE MEMBERS OF THE NEW MEETING CONGREGATION.

Birmingham, Aug. 2, 1791.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,

WE, the afflicted and sorrowing members of the New Meeting Society, in the midst of the anguish and anxiety which is inseparable from our present calamities, have greatly regretted that we could not, before this day, assemble together to confer upon the deplorable situation of our congregational affairs, and the measures necessary to be pursued in consequence of our persecutions. Being now met together for this purpose, we immediately embrace the opportunity of addressing ourselves to our well-beloved pastor, and beg to assure you how tenderly and affectionately we sympathize with you in the present season of severe trial and affliction; and that, in the spirit of Christian love and affection, we most tenderly condole with you under your personal, unmerited, and painful sufferings.

Little did we conceive that the exemplary diligence with which we have seen you, for the space of eleven years, inculcate upon us and our children every thing that was good and virtuous, could be followed by such a dreadful catastrophe as we now feel and contemplate. Whatever misconceptions our neighbours may have unhappily adopted respecting your various publications, we dare appeal to them, and we testify to the world, that your pastoral cares and labours have uniformly tended to every thing that becomes the Christian, or can adorn the man, to a sincere and fervent piety towards God, and to peace and universal good-will to all mankind, without any distinction of sect or party.

You have uniformly taught us to respect the government under which we live; and in the devotional service of every Lord's-day have never failed to offer up our united prayers for the Divine blessing upon the king, his royal family, and all that are in authority under him; so that from whatever cause it may be that you have been marked out for persecution, and for the grievous calamities to which you are still exposed, we

are sensible it cannot originate in any part of your pastoral labours, which all those strangers who have occasionally joined us (without some of whom scarce a Lord's-day has passed) must witness, as well as ourselves, have been conducted in the true spirit of the gospel, in a spirit of love and peace; and though distinguished by an ardent desire to promote the cause of truth, yet still more uniformly directed to inculcate the great and primary duties of sincere piety towards God, and universal benevolence towards all mankind.

Accept, dear Sir, our unfeigned testimony to your exemplary diligence, your eminent abilities, your unremitted zeal, your distinguished humility, your unquestioned sincerity, and your uniform love of peace, Christian forbearance, and moderation; and permit us to assure you how affectionately and tenderly we sympathize with you under your present sufferings, and how sincerely we wish their removal. And although you are not immediately returning to us, yet we look forward with pleasure to those happier times when you may resume your pastoral labours here, with safety and satisfaction.

In the mean time we earnestly recommend you to the Divine protection and favour, imploring Him to watch over, to guide and bless you, and, in due time, to restore you to us, who are in the bonds of Christian love and affection, reverend and ever dear Sir, your sincere and affectionate friends.*

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE NEW MEETING CONGREGATION.

MY CHRISTIAN BRETHREN, *London, Aug. 4, 1791.*

YOUR affectionate letter has given me not only consolation, but joy. I rejoice to see the effects of those principles in which it has been my business, and that of my excellent colleague, to instruct you; and the situation in which we now are is peculiarly adapted to try their force, and to shew the world that religion is not a business of mere speculation, but that it is capable of supporting the mind and directing the conduct in the most trying circumstances.

* *Appeal*, p. 166.

I rejoice that after being an example to other congregations, of purity of Christian doctrine, and excellence of discipline, you are now an example of patience and fortitude in suffering; firmly maintaining the principles for which you suffer, and yet preserving your good-will towards the authors of your sufferings; not forgetting that there is the hand of God, as well as that of man, in every thing that befalls us; and praying that God would forgive your enemies and turn their hearts.

Be assured, that in the height of my sufferings, I would not (even without any respect to futurity) have exchanged my feelings with those of our persecutors, in the moment of their greatest exultation over us; for I never lost the feelings of pity and benevolence towards them, while I was the object of their hatred and execration. I have even found, as I doubt not yourselves have also done, that these Christian sentiments are more easily exercised in great trials than in little ones, as they more effectually call forth the principles from which they proceed.

I rejoice that you are about to re-establish the affairs of our society, and I only wait your summons to assist you in that necessary work. Your call will be to me an intimation of my duty; and then committing my life to Him who gave it, and who will not suffer it to terminate unseasonably, I will instantly attend you, and resume the functions of the office with which you have honoured me. I know no satisfaction equal to that which has ever accompanied the discharge of such duties as those I owe to you.

Let what we have mutually suffered teach us the uncertainty of every thing in this world, and the value of those principles which enable us to look beyond it, and not only to bear, but to rejoice in tribulation, to esteem it an honour to be "counted worthy" to bear reproach, to incur loss, and even to lay down our lives for the pure faith of the gospel. May your tribulation work patience, and patience experience, and experience hope, even that hope which maketh not ashamed.

Finally, may God preserve and keep you. May your suffer-

ings be for the furtherance of the gospel here, and add to your crown of glory hereafter.

I am, my Christian friends, in the firm faith and hope of the gospel, your affectionate pastor.*

TO MR. RUSSELL.†

DEAR SIR,

London, Aug. 5, 1791.

IF you think proper to print the letter to the congregation, which I sent yesterday, you had better omit the following clause: "then committing my life to Him who gave it, and who will not suffer it to terminate unseasonably." It will be better not to intimate my idea of *danger*. I fear, however, it will be long before men's minds be in a proper state for my return, and notwithstanding my wishes and yours, both should be sacrificed to a greater object. Nothing would affect me more than a separation from you, whose affection and confidence is my greatest pride; but that may become a *duty*, and should be submitted to. Nothing can well prevent our occasional intercourse here, or, I hope, our everlasting union hereafter. I am writing my *Appeal to the Public*.

The circulation of my *private correspondence* through the town, which my wife mentions, is an unpleasant circumstance, though nothing unfavourable to my character or conduct can be inferred from it. A proper advertisement in the newspaper might, perhaps, make people ashamed of such conduct, and collect the *letters*, and the remainder of the *Memoirs of my own Life*. I leave this to you, who are on the spot. I should be glad if Mr. Thompson would send me a weekly account of the books and papers collected. Mr. Lee is now leaving town, and I shall be glad to send my letters in future in your packet from Mr. Rogers. When I know what books are preserved, I can pretty well make out a list of all the most valuable ones that are lost or damaged, and give a catalogue of every thing of consequence in the laboratory.

* *Ibid.* p. 168.

† Birmingham.

By all means take care of yourself, for more difficult times, which, I fear, await us all in this country.

I am at a printer's, and write on such paper as I find there.*

TO THE SAME.

DEAR SIR,

Tottenham,† Aug. 8, 1791.

It gives me great concern that so great a share of this great burden occasioned, though innocently, by myself, should fall upon you, if not endanger your valuable life, while I am out of the way, and can bear no part of the burden, and run no part of the risk. As to all that our enemies can write in answer to my *letter*, or otherwise, I do not think it worth while to take any notice of it at present. My *Appeal to the Public*, which I have now written, will suffice for the purpose. At least, some friend of ours on the spot may answer shortly for me, if necessary. I lament that shocking spirit of party (which my wife describes in stronger terms than you do) that seems not only to prevail, but to increase. Mr. Keir thinks it will increase still more, in consequence of taking affidavits against the magistrates, which, however, he thinks absolutely necessary.

A Mr. Shove, a counsellor on the home circuit, called on me on Saturday to shew me *a supplement to the Maidstone newspaper*, containing *a letter*, written, as he can prove, by Mr. Noble, including another to him, from some person at Birmingham, on which he wishes to found a prosecution of Mr. Noble, and he promised to write to you on the subject. He left the paper with me, and I inclose it. It may, at least, throw some light on the proceedings with you. Please to return it, as I shall make some use of it in my *Appeal*.‡ It was written by an approver of the business.

I am glad that one of the copies of my *Memoirs* is preserved. The other, in long hand too, must take its chance. I wish,

* *Orig. MS.*

† See *supra*, p. 118.

‡ I can find only this reference: "the Dissenters were also threatened by the high-church party at Bristol, at Taunton, at Maidstone, and other places very distant from each other." *Appeal*, p. 65.

however, you would read it. It has been seen by Mr. Lindsey and Dr. Price, though by nobody else till this time. It may amuse you.

I wish you would send me *all the MS. papers, in long and short hand*, that have been collected, except those at Mr. Galton's, and with them, if they have been preserved, *Swedenborg's Universal Theology*, and his *Treatise on the Last Judgment*. I want something to do, and can recompose and print my *Letters to the Swedenborgians*. Those letters, fairly copied for the press, I fear, are all lost; but if any single leaves be found, let them be sent, as also any of my *Translation of the Psalms*, &c., written in the margin of leaves cut from *Pearson's* late Bible.

How soon must I send *the account of my books and apparatus*, with the *valuation*? I cannot do it till I have a catalogue of what remains, and an estimate of the damage done to the remainder, which I therefore wish to have expedited. When do the assizes commence? Must the estimate of damages be given in then?

I shall send this to Mr. Rogers, to go in his next packet.*

FROM THE YOUNG PEOPLE OF THE NEW MEETING.

HONOURED SIR,

Birmingham, 1791.

THE common principles of humanity would, after what has recently occurred, incite us to communicate our feelings to you. But we feel urged to it by far greater motives. We have seen the great apostle of civil and religious liberty driven from among us. We have seen the precious labours of a great part of his life destroyed by a lawless mob. We have seen his apparatus and library share the same fate. We have seen this valuable member of society in the greatest danger of falling a victim to popular fury; and, not yet having persecuted him sufficiently, we are frequently hearing the vilest invectives against him, who is so highly deserving of our gratitude for his personal and unwearied efforts, to enlighten our minds on the great subject of religion, and whose philosophical labours

have been so justly extolled throughout every part of the civilized world.

To attempt a description of what we feel on reflecting on these circumstances would be as difficult as it would be painful. To assure you that we feel extremely for you, would be supposing you unacquainted with us. But, Sir, there is one circumstance which much heightens our sorrow. We cannot think of your abilities without respect, we cannot feel the effects of your labours without indulging an ardent wish that we may still continue to experience the happy effects of your instructions. But when we recollect the indignities you have felt, the trials you have had to support, and the irreparable loss you have sustained, our fears are alarmed lest such complicated distress should lead you to seek an asylum, which, Sir, to our inexpressible sorrow, Birmingham hath not afforded you. On the other hand, knowing the Christian dispositions you possess, and the knowledge you have of the human mind, we are convinced that many palliatives will suggest themselves, which, to a mind like yours, will have considerable influence.

Young as we are, we cannot but hope and expect that the flame which ignorance and bigotry have kindled, will be soon extinguished by an increase of knowledge, and that genuine Christianity will so far take possession of the hearts of our fellow-townsmen, that they will look upon the persecution you have suffered at their hands as a sin against the purest of the gospel precepts. Many, very many, we trust, agree with ourselves in wishing your return. Indulge us, then, kind Sir, in this fond hope. Should it, however, be delayed, may we shew our mistaken neighbours, that although Priestley is gone, he sowed good seed before his departure, that it fell into good ground, and that it now flourishes in the blade, and promises a plenteous harvest. May we prove it to them, that argument armed with fire and faggot may produce a temporary shock, but that it finally strengthens our cause; that it forces us to feel the great justness of it, and produces actions natural to such a conviction. We trust we shall always follow your great example, in candour and moderation, not losing sight of that Chris-

tian fortitude you have so uniformly displayed since we have had the happiness of your residence among us.

Accept, dear Sir, our warmest expressions of gratitude for the great and lasting services you have rendered us, as Christians, as members of civil society, and as citizens; and be assured it is with the greatest respect we subscribe ourselves, honoured Sir, your affectionate pupils.*

TO THE YOUNG PEOPLE OF THE NEW MEETING.

MY YOUNG FRIENDS, *London, Aug. 12, 1791.*

I COULD not read your very affectionate address to me without tears of joy. You were ever the most pleasing part of my charge, and this address is a proof that the affection I had for you, and the pains that I took in instructing you, have not been thrown away. Your example will encourage other Christian ministers, who hear of it, to follow mine. The great object of my lectures, in all your classes, was to give you a just knowledge of the principles of religion, as the only solid foundation of proper sentiments and good conduct, and I shall want no consolation under my unmerited sufferings, while you continue to feel and to act as you do.

The unsettled state of the congregation, and the consequent discontinuance of our lectures, you will consider as a trial of the principles you have already acquired. Give a proof of their strength by a steady attention to every means of improvement that is yet in your power.

The enemies of our Christian liberty have destroyed an excellent library, provided for your use: but your zeal and liberality will supply you with resources of the same kind; and let the more opulent among you assist those who are less so. Re-peruse the works which I composed for your use, and such others as can be repurchased of those which the enemy has deprived you of. Shew them, that by destroying books they cannot destroy the effects of reading them; that the love of truth, of virtue, and of liberty, which you have imbibed, can

* "Signed with 121 names." *Appeal*, p. 169.

never be eradicated, and that lawless power can never subdue fixed principles.

What I more particularly wish, in your present situation, is, that those who are the best instructed among you, would supply my place in undertaking the instruction of others; and many of you, I am well satisfied, are sufficiently qualified for it; and assure yourselves of the Divine blessing on the weakest well-meant endeavours.

Young as you are, I trust you are too well established in Christian principles to have your faith in a wise superintending Providence at all shaken by the calamitous events which have been permitted to befall us. Christianity did not lose, but gain ground by persecution. It is a state excellently adapted to recall to our minds, and to strengthen our regards to, our future and better prospects, while it loosens a dangerous attachment to the things of time and sense.

The ways of God are unsearchable by us. But be assured that nothing can materially harm you, if you be followers of that which is good. If I be restored to you, which is my most ardent wish, our mutual satisfaction will be doubled by this interruption; and if not, it will add to the ardour of your wishes, as it does to mine, to meet you where the violence of the adversary can never separate us any more.

I am, my young friends, in the faith and hope of the gospel, your affectionate pastor.*

FROM THE CONGREGATION, MILL-HILL CHAPEL.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,

Leeds, Aug. 14, 1791.

WE, the Protestant Dissenters of Mill-Hill Chapel, in Leeds, cannot rest satisfied in a silent sympathy with you on the losses you have lately incurred from the violence of party rage.

While all the sincere friends of rational liberty and good order are roused to an honest indignation by outrages which have disgraced our country in the eyes of enlightened Europe, we, having had the happiness of being under your pastoral

* *Appeal*, p. 171.

care,* feel a personal interest in your welfare; and as from this intimate connexion with you, we have had a better opportunity of becoming acquainted with your real character than many others have enjoyed, we the more readily embrace this opportunity of bearing our special testimony to its exemplary excellence. An interval of more than eighteen years has not effaced from our memory the good principles you inculcated upon us, and the affectionate care which you uniformly manifested for our advancement in every virtue. It was, in a peculiar degree, the object of your attention to impress upon the minds of the young such sentiments as are best calculated to produce the peaceable and useful citizen in all the departments in life, which many of us, who were then only rising to maturity, and are now the heads of families, gratefully acknowledge.

We also recollect with pleasure, that when you instructed us in the reasons of a Protestant Dissent from the established church, you were careful to guard us against the rancour of an intolerant spirit, and to form us to the genuine temper of that divine religion which enjoins peace on earth, and good-will towards men. And though you always esteemed it your duty to oppose what appeared to you the erroneous opinions and superstitious practices of individuals or bodies of men, you were so far from entertaining a hostile disposition to their persons or property, that you were solely actuated by a regard to their best interest, for which, however they might think you mistaken, they ought to have felt themselves obliged.

Rejoicing in the support which you derive from the ample resources of your own mind, especially those which are the result of a good conscience, and earnestly wishing you every good, we remain, Rev. and dear Sir, your affectionate friends.†

FROM THE COMMITTEE OF THE REVOLUTION SOCIETY.

REV. SIR,

London, Aug. 16, 1791.

WE embrace the opportunity of the first meeting of the Committee of the Revolution Society, subsequent to the atro-

* See I. 62.

† *Appeal*, p. 159.

cious riots which have taken place at Birmingham, to express our concern and regret at those acts of lawless violence by which you have been so great a sufferer, and which have reflected such extreme dishonour on this age and on this nation.

It might have been presumed, that the most ignorant and lawless savages would not have been induced to commit such depredations on the house and property of a man of such distinguished merit as yourself, to whom the whole scientific world has been so eminently indebted, and in whose works those principles of equal liberty have been asserted and maintained, which would protect even the lowest of the human species from violence and oppression. As a political writer, you have been employed in disseminating the most just and rational sentiments of Government, and such as are in a very high degree calculated to promote general freedom and happiness.

The conduct of the Birmingham rioters implied in it a complication of ignorance and brutality, which it is astonishing to find, at the present period, in such a country as Great Britain. Nothing but the most execrable bigotry, united to ignorance the most contemptible, could lead any body of men to suppose that such acts of violence as were lately exercised at Birmingham against yourself and other respectable Dissenters in that town and its neighbourhood, could be justified by any difference of opinion. We hoped that the age had been more enlightened; that it had been universally admitted that no country can be possessed of freedom in which every man is not allowed to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, and in which he is not permitted to defend his opinions. We hoped also that the principles of Civil Liberty had been so well understood, and so universally adopted, that few would have been found in this country who would not sincerely have rejoiced in the emancipation of a neighbouring kingdom from tyranny, and in such events as are calculated to promote general liberty and happiness.

It is with exultation and triumph that we see the success of the late just, necessary, and glorious Revolution in France; an event so pregnant with the most important benefits to the

world, that not to rejoice in it would be unworthy of us as freemen, and as friends to the general rights of human nature; and to ascribe to the commemoration of the French Revolution the late devastations committed at Birmingham, would be to insult the understandings of mankind.

We are sorry to find that so many of our countrymen still need to be instructed in the first principles of civil and religious freedom; but we still hope that the period is not far distant when the common rights of mankind will be universally acknowledged; when civil and ecclesiastical tyranny shall be banished from the face of the earth; and when it will not be found practicable to procure any licentious mobs to support the cause of an ignorant and interested intolerance.

We again express our deep concern at the iniquitous riots which have lately happened at Birmingham; at the acts of violence and injustice which have been exercised against you and your friends, and at the loss Science and Literature have sustained in the destruction of your books, manuscripts, and philosophical apparatus.

We rejoice in the security of your person, notwithstanding the malevolence of your adversaries; and at the magnanimity with which you have sustained the injuries that you have received.

Permit us to entreat you to convey our cordial and affectionate condolence to your fellow-sufferers in the cause of freedom and public virtue. As to yourself, we desire to testify in the most public manner the high sense we entertain of your merit; and we beg leave to subscribe ourselves, with great respect and regard, Rev. Sir, your most obedient and most humble servants.*

* "Correspondence of the Revolution Society," p. 238. In a letter (Aug. 27, 1791) from a Society of Friends of the Constitution at Strasburgh to the Revolution Society, is the following passage:

"Nous avons adressé à l'Assemblée Nationale des François une Pétition pour obtenir en faveur du Docteur Priestley, (non par un dédommagement, cela nous paroît impossible) mais un traitement quelconque à sa convenance, soit place ou pension qui puisse lui faire oublier l'ingratitude de ceux de Birmingham. La vertu malheureuse doit partout remonter des admirateurs et des appuis, et principalement auprès d'une grande Nation, dans le sanc-

TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE REVOLUTION SOCIETY.

DEAR SIR,

Tottenham, Aug. 22, 1791.

I BEG you would make my acknowledgments, in the most

tuaire de ses représentans." *Correspondence of the Revolution Society*, p. 242.

The Friends of the Constitution at Rennes (Oct. 16, 1791) say,

"L'éloquent et l'intrépide défenseur de leurs droits, le sage *Priestley* n'a pû qu'échapper par une prompte suite à la fureur de ces forcenés; mais son azile a été violé, sa maison renversée, et ce qui est une calamité générale, sa Bibliothèque, ses manuscrits des collections précieuses en tout genre ont été la proie de la dévastation et des flammes. Ces attentats nous ont mortellement affligés; nous espérons qu'ils feront du moins parmi vous, le dernier effort du despotisme, toujours armé contre la liberté. Nous croyons comme l'a dit *Priestley* lui-même dans cette lettre où se déploie son âme grande et magnanime, que les auteurs de ces criminelles violences *ont plus fait* en quatre jours pour les progrès de la raison, de la tolérance, et de la *philosophie que tous* les écrits des hommes sages n'auroient pû faire en deux siècles." *Ibid.* p. 246.

The Society reply, Feb. 4, 1792,

"The sympathetic cordiality expressed by you at the unmerited treatment which the pious and scientific Dr. Priestley has met with, cannot but be most grateful to us, who consider him one of the greatest luminaries of the age; and that he was so in fact, is plainly acknowledged by the fanaticism under which he has suffered, which ever rages with more and more violence, in proportion to the merit and importance of the object of its fury. His sufferings, therefore, are in the highest degree honourable to him. That they are consolatory, however great they may be, and pleasing to him, as a strenuous lover of truth, you yourselves, Gentlemen, must be convinced of, by his triumphant assertion, which you have noticed in your letter, 'That the authors of the criminal violence against him had done more in four days for the progress of reason, of toleration, and of philosophy, than all the writings of the wisest men had been able to effect in two centuries.'

"And yet, Gentlemen, we must confess to you that it is shameful that such atrocious acts should have been committed by *any* people under *any* denomination of Christians at the end of the eighteenth century. That they should be perpetrated and countenanced in England, which boasts of its freedom, its knowledge, and its humanity, is abominable. In short, as no excuse can be attempted for the palliation of the iniquity of the scene exhibited at Birmingham on the 14th of last July, let us turn our eyes with horror from it, and conclude, for our encouragement to persevere in what is right, in the words which philosophy dictated to the glorious sufferer in its cause,

"Violence is temporary, but Truth is eternal!"—*Ibid.* p. 249.

respectful manner, to the Committee of the Revolution Society for their very grateful Address to me.

Our principles are entirely the same; and notwithstanding all opposition, must prevail in this as well as in other countries. Violence is temporary, but truth is eternal. I am, dear Sir, yours sincerely.*

FROM THE YOUNG PEOPLE OF THE NEW MEETING.

Birmingham, Aug. 22, 1791.

DEAR AND RESPECTED SIR,

PERMIT us to indulge our feelings in again addressing you.

When assurances of gratitude and attachment are not necessary, there is a gratification in expressing the prevailing sentiments of the heart; and when you, Sir, are the object, we feel no common ardour. We have too much confidence in your goodness, and have had too many proofs of your affectionate regard to our happiness, to imagine you will think us troublesome.

We have received your affectionate and animating letter. Our tears spoke our feelings. We cannot express them. Language is feeble and inadequate. But we will bind your instructions to our hearts. While we remember whose pupils we have been, we cannot act unworthily. We can never sufficiently express our sense of the obligation you have conferred upon us, but we dwell upon the subject with too much pleasure to omit any opportunity of renewing it. To you, Sir, we are indebted for the desire of improvement. You have given us habits of employing our leisure hours in the cultivation of our understandings, in pursuits that afford delight and advantage, and which are calculated to raise us higher in the scale of being. The love of virtue you have implanted in us by precept and example. We will guard and cherish it; and while we enjoy the fruits of it, our souls exulting shall bless you. You have deprived adversity of its sting, and have enabled us to extend our views with satisfaction beyond the world, by impressing our minds with the strongest evidence of

* *Correspondence of the Revolution Society.*

the great truths of Christianity. These advantages, Sir, we have received from you. We feel their importance, and will diffuse them as far as our influence extends. It shall be our grand object to endeavour to follow your example in a firm adherence to what we believe to be the cause of truth, in preserving our minds open to conviction, and in the cultivation of fortitude, patience, and charity. We have, indeed, no slight trial of the latter, when we behold the enlightened and benevolent friend of all mankind, whose life has invariably exhibited, and whose instructions have ever enforced, the practice of every mild and gentle virtue, treated with a cruelty which would disgrace a barbarous age. But we will remember our principles, the principles, Sir, we have imbibed from you, and will say, in the language of philosophy and Christianity, Deluded men, we pity you. May your hearts be turned, and your errors forgiven!

Your sufferings, Sir, have been great, but we have much consolation in knowing that your mind is still greater. The man who can review a life like yours, and say, It has been mine, possesses the noblest sources of joy. You have formed to yourself a sanctuary which no storm can reach. The venomous dart must rebound and wound the breast which aimed it. While the vices of mankind present a melancholy picture to your view, and call forth emotions of sorrow, in a heart benevolent as yours, you will remember how many have been made virtuous and happy by your means, and that no lawless power can destroy the works you have given to the world, or prevent their operation in promoting the best interests of man.

The violence of a mob, or those who chose to act by such instruments, can only give additional lustre to a character known, admired, and revered, by the wise and liberal in every part of the civilized world. But eminent talents and distinguished virtue seldom fail to excite, in narrow and interested minds, the despicable passions of envy and fear; and the ignorance of mankind affords, alas! an ample field for them to work upon. The page of history which the recent event is destined to fill, will exhibit a strong contrast in human nature.

Posterity will pause with astonishment when they find that the same age which witnessed your generous exertions in the cause of truth and of mankind, produced such savage ferocity. Happy would it be for many if the cloud which will hang over their memories were the dark veil of oblivion. But the brightness of your character will render the deformity of theirs conspicuous.

Your proposal that the classes should continue to meet has given us much satisfaction. We shall all rejoice in any occasion of giving or receiving instruction. We hold the advantages we have received too dear to neglect any opportunity of extending and improving them. We have this day met to consider of the best means of carrying it into execution. The different circumstances under which we now assemble, cannot fail to impress our minds in a very powerful manner; but we trust they are impressions which will have a favourable influence on our future lives. We have requested Mr. Blythe to supply your place in the senior class till your return; and when he is desirous of it, we shall willingly relieve him from the fatigue of reading. Mr. Hawkes we have requested to give us his presence in the noon class, and to take only so much business of it upon him as is agreeable to himself; since many of us will gladly give him any assistance in our power. They have, in the most affectionate manner, complied with our wishes, and next Sunday the three classes re-commence in their usual form, every thing previous to their meeting being settled.

We have had a very full meeting, and many who were obliged to be absent have requested to put their names to this address, as a testimony of their gratitude for your kind letter. But we hope, Sir, the time will soon arrive when you may again appear among us in the same venerable and endearing character in which we have so often beheld you. To be separated from you is an evil we are ill-disposed to bear. We will hope this trial is not in reserve for us. Should infatuation, however, extend so far, our enemies shall find that they can never separate you from our hearts, that our gratitude and attachment has a basis too strong for them ever to shake, and

that the mind is property which no iniquitous power can reach.

With sentiments of the warmest gratitude and veneration, we are, Sir, your affectionate pupils.*

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.†

DEAR FRIEND,

Missenden,‡ Aug. 30, 1791.

I NEVER wanted you more than I do now, that I am composing my Appeal. It is about the size of my Letters to Mr. Burke, and, I think, finished, except the fair transcript for the press. I have thought it right to speak with great freedom on many subjects, because I am pretty sure to be heard. At the same time, I wish to be on my guard not to pass the bounds of decency and propriety; and in this your cooler and better knowledge of the world, would be of the greatest use to me. However, I shall not print any part of it till you have seen it. Mr. Russell, and my friends in general, wish that I would not defer the publication unnecessarily, and therefore I shall be ready.

Not to offend the clergy and the court is impossible, and therefore that is no object with me. Whatever justifies us will, of course, condemn, and therefore irritate them. It is not doubted by anybody that I converse with, that the measure originated with the court itself, and that the design was to intimidate and quiet us, by shewing us our absolute dependence upon them. Mr. Russell owns he never had less satisfaction in any interview with Mr. Pitt than the last. He says he clearly saw he had received unfavourable impressions of us; and to Mr. Wiche, and the others from Maidstone,§ Mr. Dundas expressed great dislike of the Dissenters in general,|| and myself in particular, saying they were a different set of persons from the old Dissenters, and did not know what they wanted. Mr. Russell declined sending them any more affida-

* “Signed with 145 names.” *Appeal*, p. 175.

† “At Samuel Shore’s, Esq., Norton Hall, near Sheffield.”

‡ Mr. Vaughan’s.

§ See W. XIX. 543.

|| Yet Mr. Dundas, a very few months later, assured Sir Henry Houghton, as the worthy baronet informed me, and appeared fondly to credit, that the court was most favourably inclined towards Dissenters.

vits, perceiving clearly that those he had sent would not be used in our favour. He says he clearly foresees more rioting in Birmingham and the neighbourhood,* and that the foot soldiers would not act against the rioters, though he thinks the horse would. He wishes the ministry would withdraw all the foot, as likely to do more harm than good. He is getting arms into his own house, and means openly to train his servants to the use of them, and to advise all his friends to do the same. He never goes abroad without a brace of charged pistols in his pocket. By all accounts the spirit of party is higher than ever,† and is likely to increase for some time. It is, indeed, a

* An apprehension thus justified. "Dec. 6, 1792. From a gentleman arrived from Birmingham yesterday, we have the following particulars:

"In consequence of an advertisement in the Birmingham papers, and hand-bills circulated for some days past, vast numbers assembled on Monday evening at the Union Tavern, and at the sign of the Church, in Church Street, to form themselves into societies, by the name of loyal true blues. The streets were very turbulent during the whole night, and the dreadful huzza, so alarming in the late troubles, again assailed the ears of the peaceable inhabitants.

"About eleven at night, a large party appeared before the house of Mr. Hutton, in the High Street, and violently knocking at the door and window-shutters, they obliged the family to come to the windows, and audibly exclaim, *Church and King*. About three in the morning, a very large party appeared before the house of Mr. George Humphries, at Spark Brook, from which, after breaking a few panes of glass, and receiving from Mr. Humphries five or six guineas, they departed. Every thing was tranquil when the above gentleman left Birmingham." *Lond. Chron.* LXXII. 544.

† "Robert Bage to William Hutton, Elford, July 25, 1791," says, "In this country it is better to be a Churchman, with just as much common sense as Heaven has been pleased to give on an average to Esquimaux, than a Dissenter, with the understanding of a Priestley or a Locke. Since the riots, in every company I have had the misfortune to go into, my ears have been insulted with the bigotry of fifty years back, with *Damn the Presbyterians!* with *Church and King*, *huzza!* and with true passive obedience and non-resistance." See "Life of Hutton," *Addenda*, p. 5.

Mr. Hutton, says, "Dr. Priestley's love to man was great, his usefulness greater. I have been informed by the faculty, that his experimental discoveries on air, applied to medical purposes, have preserved the lives of thousands; and, in return, he can scarcely preserve his own." Mr. Hutton adds,

"A clergyman attended this outrage, and was charged with examining, and even *pocketing*, the manuscripts. I think he paid the doctor a compliment by shewing a regard for his works. I will farther do him the justice to believe he never meant to keep them, to invade the doctor's profession by

sad prospect that is now before us. But we must not despair, or discover any timidity. I rather fear going into the opposite extreme, which, however, I think is the better of the two.

I came hither yesterday, and am very comfortable, but too far out of the way of intelligence and letters. I am quite recovered of my indisposition.

P. S. As to the political Unbelievers you mention, I expect no allowance from them. They have long been more offended at me than, if possible, the clergy themselves.*

FROM THE COMMITTEE OF PROTESTANT DISSENTERS IN
THE COUNTY OF YORK.†

REV. SIR,

Wakefield, Sept. 1, 1791.

WE cannot avoid expressing the interest we feel in your late sufferings from a deluded populace.

However some of us may differ from you in several doctrinal opinions, we are well convinced of the integrity of your character, and think ourselves highly obliged to you for your services in the cause of religious and civil liberty. In this cause we respect you as a confessor; and admire the magnanimity and meekness, equally honourable to the man and the Christian, with which you have borne the losses you have sustained. The approbation of your own mind, the esteem of the friends of freedom, and the persuasion that your personal misfortunes, under the direction of a wise and benevolent Providence, will finally prove conducive to public good, will, we doubt not, still continue to afford you support, and enable you to rejoice, even in tribulation.

Sincerely wishing you every blessing which Heaven can bestow, we remain, reverend Sir, yours very respectfully.‡

turning philosopher, or to sell them, though valuable; but only to exchange them with the minister for preferment." See "Narrative of the Riots," *Life of Hutton*, (1816,) pp. 174, 175; *supra*, p. 132.

Mr. Hutton had before described Dr. Priestley as "one of the first philosophers of the age, whose merit seems obvious to every eye but his own." See "History of Birmingham," *Ed.* 3, (1806,) p. 180.

* *Orig.* MS.

† "Laymen and ministers, of the Three Denominations, for the West-Riding."

‡ "Account of Riots," *Appendix*, p. 18.

FROM THE PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY AT DERBY.

SIR,

Sept. 3, 1791.

WE condole with yourself, and with the scientific world, on the loss of your valuable library, your experimental apparatus, and your more valuable manuscripts; at the same time we beg leave to congratulate you on your personal safety, in having escaped the sacrilegious hands of the savages at Birmingham.

Almost all great minds, in all ages of the world, who have endeavoured to benefit mankind, have been persecuted by them. Galileo, for his philosophical discoveries, was imprisoned by the inquisition; and Socrates found a cup of hemlock his reward for teaching there is one God. Your enemies, unable to conquer your arguments by reason, have had recourse to violence. They have hallooed upon you the dogs of unfeeling ignorance and of frantic fanaticism. They have kindled fires like those of the inquisition, not to illuminate the truth, but, like the dark lanthorn of the assassin, to light the murderer to his prey. Your philosophical friends, therefore, hope that you will not again risk your person amongst a people whose bigotry renders them incapable of instruction. They hope you will leave the unfruitful fields of polemical theology, and cultivate that philosophy of which you may be called the father, and which, by inducing the world to think and reason, will silently marshal mankind against delusion, and, with greater certainty, overturn the empire of superstition.

In spite of the persecution you have sustained, we trust that you will persevere in the exertions of virtue, and the improvements of science. Your fame, already conspicuous to every civilized nation of the world, shall rise, like a phoenix, from the flames of your elaboratory with renovated vigour, and shine with brighter corruscation.*

* "R. Roe, Secretary." *Lond. Chron.* LXX. 340; *Appeal*, p. 157. For the conduct of "Rev. Mr. Hope" on the first publication of this Address, and his consequent expulsion from the society, see W. XIX. 599.

Rev. W. Higginson, Derby, has obligingly informed me that this Address was signed and transmitted by Dr. Darwin, as President of the Society.

FROM THE NEW MEETING CONGREGATION.

REV. AND DEAR SIR, *Birmingham, Sept. 5, 1791.*

THE affectionate terms in which you accept our letter of condolence, and the assurance you give us that it afforded you consolation and joy, have caused us a lively satisfaction. Your desire to concur with us in our endeavours to re-establish the affairs of the congregation, has awakened our anxiety for the season when we may urge your return to Birmingham; and although that period has been thus long protracted, yet we think it our duty to remind you that we exercise a cheerful reliance upon your kind declaration that you only wait our summons.

The sincere affection we bear you, and the conviction we possess of the value and importance of your life to the cause of truth, and the world at large, will not permit us to consent that you shall be exposed to any unnecessary hazard on your return hither, before the time of tranquillity and safety. Prevented by these motives, and these alone, from requesting, in the most affectionate terms, that you would resume in person your pastoral charge, we assure ourselves that the interval they occasion will not be permitted to operate in any sense to our disadvantage.

Our endeavours to procure a suitable place to assemble in for public worship, until our own is rebuilt, though not altogether so successful as we could wish, will not be discontinued till the object is fully attained; in the mean time, we have the pleasure of assembling in Carr's Lane each Lord's-day, with our brethren and fellow-sufferers of the Old Meeting congregation; and we learn with unspeakable satisfaction, that the junior part of our society, profiting by your advice and correspondence, are already assembled in regular classes, and are conforming to your wishes in endeavouring to continue the important business of religious instruction among themselves, agreeable to the plan you established, so that your labours are still flourishing among us, even in our present state of dispersion and persecution; and we hope and trust it will not now

be long ere your own judgment, and that of your friends, will concur in affording us a renewal of those personal exertions by which we have heretofore been so much edified, and from the continuance of which we promise ourselves so much future advantage.

We rejoice in the continuance of your health, and in the frequent accounts we receive of your uninterrupted cheerfulness, and offer our fervent prayers to the Almighty that your eminent abilities may long be spared, and your health and cheerfulness be prolonged with them. With sentiments of the sincerest respect, we remain with unalterable attachment, Rev. and dear Sir, your much obliged and very affectionate friends and servants.*

FROM AN ASSEMBLY OF PROTESTANT DISSENTING
MINISTERS.

REV. SIR,

Exeter, Sept. 7, 1791.

BEING assembled to transact the usual business of our half-yearly meetings, we think ourselves bound, though several of us differ from you in opinion on various subjects, to seize the opportunity which this circumstance affords us, of *uniting* in an address to you on the occasion of your late sufferings and losses.

We sincerely lament the destruction of your most valuable property, and reflect with sympathetic concern on the scenes of danger, anxiety, and distress, in which you must have been involved; at the same time we are highly thankful to God that your important life is preserved. From the fruits of your indefatigable labours, which have rendered your name so justly famous through the learned world, we conceive no small honour to be derived to the body to which you belong, and of which on that account, as well as many others, we have reason to glory that we also constitute a part. May a kind Providence continue to protect you, and to afford you means and opportunities of resuming your interrupted pursuits with undisturbed tranquillity and comfort!

* *Appeal*, p. 173.

While it grieves us to observe that any of the inhabitants of this country should discover even the smallest symptom of a persecuting temper in these enlightened days, and that a person of your very distinguished eminence and worth should become the marked object of popular violence, we heartily congratulate you on being able, in so trying circumstances, to display to the view of the public the exercise of the most difficult and magnanimous virtues. By this conduct you demonstrate the power of faith and a good conscience to support the righteous under the calamities of life, and the efficacy of Christian principles when made subjects of habitual meditation, and fixed in the heart, to suppress all desire of revenge. We thank you for holding up to the attention of mankind a pattern so deserving of universal imitation, and so well adapted both to disarm the resentment of your enemies, and to impress every reflecting and candid mind with a conviction that neither you nor your brethren, though advocates with you for civil and religious liberty, entertain a single wish unfriendly to the safety, peace, or enjoyment, of any one human being.

It affords us great pleasure to hear that you have already received* a letter of condolence from some of our brethren of different religious sentiments and denominations, couched in terms expressive of warm affection and esteem. We would flatter ourselves that this noble example of a truly liberal spirit and behaviour will be followed by many others, and that one beneficial consequence of the late riots at Birmingham will be the establishment of a closer union, and of a more general and friendly intercourse, among Dissenters of every description.

Requesting you to assure your fellow-sufferers that they partake with yourself in our cordial commiseration and most benevolent wishes, we remain with great respect, Rev. Sir, your affectionate fellow-labourers in the cause of our common Lord.†

* From Great Yarmouth. See *supra*, p. 126.

† MS. copy, in a letter from Mr. Bretland to Dr. Toulmin.

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY AT
DERBY.

GENTLEMEN,

London, Sept. 21, 1791.

I FEEL myself greatly encouraged in my present sufferings, from the effects of bigotry, by the sympathy expressed by you, and by other liberal friends of science here and abroad.

It will be a new thing in the world if any thing truly valuable lose credit, or have a less rapid spread, in consequence of persecution. If any thing will bear to be viewed and examined, it must derive advantage from whatever draws attention to it; and such, I am confident, is the cause in which I suffer.

In consequence of this, far from being discouraged, I feel myself more animated than ever; and I am at this very time setting about the re-establishment of my philosophical apparatus, and resuming all my former pursuits.

Excuse me, however, if I still join theological to philosophical studies; and if I consider the former as greatly superior in importance to mankind to the latter. But as these different pursuits have never yet interfered with, but promoted each other, be persuaded that this will continue to be the case.*

FROM THE STUDENTS, NEW COLLEGE, HACKNEY.

REV. SIR,

Hackney College, Sept. 20, 1791.

WHEN various societies are expressing their sense of your great merit, and sorrow for your late sufferings, we hope that, without any violation of modesty, we too may appear among the number; and, young as we are, yet dearly loving truth and liberty, avow our warm attachment to their distinguished, their persecuted advocate.

The loss which the world of science and of letters must sustain in the destruction of your MSS., and interruption of your studies, we deeply feel and deeply lament; for how can we be lovers of our brethren, or even of our ourselves, without deploring every hindrance of labours, excited by no sordid

* *Lond. Chron.* LXX. 340; *Appeal*, p. 158.

views, but intended to enlighten and improve mankind? We presume not to appreciate these labours. Whatever be their value, they are sanctified by their object; and our indignation must be roused when any daring hand violates the retirement of a person thus employed.

Yet we are sure that your studies, though for a while interrupted, will be soon resumed. We are confident that your future publications will display the same manly spirit, will contain the same open avowal of what you deem important truth, which has ever characterized your productions; for you sought not the applause of the multitude: you cannot, then, be disappointed at finding them ignorant of your value; and is not the hatred of all the hireling advocates of corruption a proof that your labours have been successful? Why should they wish to extinguish the light, if it did not exhibit their own deformity? Your friends have long acknowledged the justice of your reasonings, but their judgments might be partial. This testimony of your enemies, however disagreeably expressed, is liable to no exception. They would not *hate* you if they did not *fear* you.

Another circumstance, which must have alleviated your sufferings, is the steady attachment which so many of your friends have displayed. Not a few have publicly expressed it; and doubtless there are many others who, formerly content with admiring your writings, will now extend their admiration to your character; and, powerful as those arguments may be by which certain of your philosophical opinions are supported, will acknowledge that their practical influence, displayed in your conduct, affords an argument still more forcible.

You have, Sir, one farther consolation. Though lawless violence may destroy your writings; may destroy yourself, it cannot extinguish that spirit of inquiry; it cannot eradicate those generous sentiments which you and the other enlighteners of Europe have excited. We trust that multitudes have; that multitudes will imbibe them. We trust that our love of truth and liberty flows not from the wild and irregular enthusiasm of youth, but is the effect of conviction and principle. Our bosoms glow with the idea of one day pursuing,

with however unequal steps, the course which you have pointed out; of entering, even in the lowest capacity, that glorious phalanx, which, in contending for the rights, contends for the happiness of man. We earnestly hope that neither the blandishments of pleasure, nor the frowns of power, will be able to retard our progress. We earnestly pray that nothing this world can offer, may draw us from the path of duty; for that path, we are convinced, leads to heaven.*

TO THE STUDENTS AT THE NEW COLLEGE, HACKNEY.

GENTLEMEN,

London, Sept. 22, 1791.

YOUR Address, as that of young men of sufficient age to think with justness, as well as to feel with ardour, gives me peculiar pleasure, as it holds out a certain prospect that the cause of truth and liberty will not want supporters, when all those of my age shall have finished their course.

You see, in the riots at Birmingham, how naturally a failure in *argument* leads to *violence*, and also how certainly that violence defeats its own end. A hierarchy, equally the bane of Christianity and of rational liberty, now confesses its weakness; and be assured that you will see either its complete reformation, or its fall. Be it your ambition, my young friends, to join the small but noble band of those who by *action*, or, what is more honourable, as well as more effectual, by *suffering*, maintain the rights of all men, civil and religious. Whether you be destined for speculative or active life, you will not want opportunities of distinguishing yourselves in this glorious cause; and of youth we generally expect a generous ardour in favour of whatever is *true* and *right*, independent of private interest, or of that of any particular portion of the human race.

As good citizens, study the welfare of your country; but look beyond *that* to those great *principles* which will ensure the happiness of all Europe and of all mankind. Such principles as these now excite general attention; and your tutors will give you every assistance that you can want in the discus-

* "Account of Riots," *Appendix*, p. 9.

sion of them. Shew, then, by your superior intelligence and activity, the superiority of your advantages over those of other institutions, which, instead of expanding the mind, by encouraging freedom of inquiry, effectually fetter its powers by a sworn attachment to a particular system, formed in an age of universal and acknowledged barbarism. Where the sons of those institutions are diffusing their *darkness*, do you bring your *light*; assured that the same grand luminary which has arisen on America, France, and Poland, and which has taught them all *universal toleration* in matters of religion, will illuminate the whole world; and that, in consequence of it, all mankind will be free, peaceable, and happy.

Give me leave to close this Address with reminding you how much the credit of the College depends upon the diligence and good behaviour of you who are students in it, and of the connexion which the good of your country and of the world has with the credit of that institution.

With sincere affection, and every good wish, I am, Gentlemen, your very humble servant.*

FROM THE NEW MEETING CONGREGATION.

DEAR AND REV. SIR, *Birmingham, Sept. 22, 1791.*

WE, the subscribers and members of the New Meeting Society, being assembled together for the purpose of conferring upon the rumour of an unexpected impediment in the way of your return to us, desire to assure you of the deep and poignant concern these rumours give us. The bare apprehension of your leaving us is deeply affecting to us all. Sudden and violent as was the first onset of the persecution and troubles with which you and ourselves were lately assailed, we saw it necessary that you should retire for a season; and we not only acquiesced in your retirement, but rejoiced in your enjoying that safety at a distance which a deluded populace appeared to deny you here; but the thought of these violences operating to the final dissolution of our happy connexion, as pastor and

* *Ibid.* p. 11.

people, is really more distressing to us than all our other sufferings and calamities, multiplied and severe as they are; and we cannot but sincerely and earnestly deprecate such an event.

Indeed, Sir, we can truly assure you that there is no plea to be urged, there is no assurance to be given, there is no inducement to be offered, by a people whose hearts are full of veneration, respect, and gratitude, which we cannot, which we do not, now urge and offer to you as the genuine dictate of the most ardent, sincere, and fervent affection. We cannot describe how much our feelings are interested; we cannot tell you how earnest, how sincere, and how fervent our desires are for your return, and how much our best affections are moved upon this truly important and interesting occasion; but we know we may safely rely upon your own feelings to do us justice; we know you will feel for us, and also for those who are the dearest to us, when we entreat you to recollect your invaluable usefulness among them, and the happy fruits which have been already seen to result from your exemplary assiduities and labours there. But we will forbear; for although we would be serious and earnest, we would not be importunate.

We shall, therefore, urge you no farther. We know your candour, we trust your goodness, and would rely upon your well-known serious and pious mind for the acceptance of this our sincere and well-meant application. Persuaded you will not deem it an intrusion, we offer no apology. On the contrary, knowing and feeling ourselves that it is the dictate of a pure affection and ardent attachment, we doubt not but you will receive it as such, and that as it is the genuine result of our zeal and sincerity in the most important of all concerns, it will operate with you accordingly.

Hoping that you may speedily return among us, resume your pen with renewed vigour, and your labours with increasing success, we remain, with the sincerest affection, respect, and attachment, Rev. and ever dear Sir, your friends and fellow-christians.*

* *Appeal*, p. 178.

TO MR. RUSSELL.*

DEAR SIR,

Wycombe, Sept. 29, 1791.

I go to London to-morrow, and shall immediately apply to Mr. Bell, and get from him what assistance I can in drawing out the account of my losses.

I have desired Mr. Thompson to get me copies of the two Addresses to the King, and the first letter of the congregation to me. I shall be obliged to you if you will assist him in it.

I shall soon write to the congregation, but I was unwilling to send a final answer till I was fully determined in my own mind, which I can hardly say I am yet. If you had a place where I could preach, I would yet see you settled before I finally quitted Birmingham; but, in your present circumstances, my coming would answer no end. I wish it was possible to keep up something like a connexion with Birmingham, though I should be at Hackney, by visiting you occasionally; but that cannot well be. I do not like the idea of being driven off, or abandoning a charge in which I was so happy. But, all things considered, I think more good will arise from my succeeding Dr. Price, if that should take place, than from any other scheme.

TO THE SAME.

DEAR SIR,

London, Oct. 3, 1791.

I SEND you two Addresses, transmitted to me by Mr. Toulmin. Another from the same persons came to myself. Though my spirits do not sink in consequence of any thing I have suffered, and I do not repent of any thing that I have done that may have been the occasion of it, I cannot help feeling, and sometimes very painfully, both for the congregation in general, and some individuals in it, especially yourself and family; for, go where I will, I shall never find such a friend as you have constantly been to me, nor indeed do I ever expect to find a man so worthy of my esteem. Whatever I did at Birmingham

* Birmingham.

was much more yours than mine; for without you I should have not been able to do much. It is, however, a great source of satisfaction to me that by your help I was able to do what I did,* and I hope the good effects of it will not be confined to

* The friend to whom I was indebted (*supra*, p. 111, *note* ||) and who "was an indignant witness of the destruction of Dr. Priestley's library, manuscripts, and apparatus," has taken occasion thus to recollect him as a Christian instructor :

"Though differing in religious opinions, I was in the habit of associating with those who regularly attended the instructions of Dr. Priestley; and had I formed my notions of him, or estimated his character, from the representations which I often heard from the pulpit in the church, I must indeed have deemed him 'the demon of heresy;' but happily I had been accustomed to exercise my own faculties in the pursuit of truth. Much as I had heard and read about Dr. Priestley, I did not know his person till the year 1788, when curiosity induced me to accompany a friend to hear a lecture which he delivered on a Sunday afternoon. [See I. 353.] Amongst various other designations, we had been told that he was 'a deluded visionary,' and 'a proud and haughty scorner;' but we discovered such a delineation to be unjust, having no resemblance to reality.

"When we entered the place, we found a man of about the middle stature, slenderly made, remarkably placid, modest, and courteous, pouring out, with the simplicity of a child, the great stores of his most capacious mind to a considerable number of young persons of both sexes, whom, with the familiarity and kindness of a friend, he encouraged to ask him questions, either during the lecture or after it, if he advanced any thing which wanted explanation, or struck them in a light different from his own. The impression made upon us was so strong, that we never failed afterwards to attend on such occasions in order to profit by his lessons, and we frequently went to hear him preach, until he was driven from the town in 1791.

"His lectures were peculiarly instructive, and the general tenour of his sermons was practical, urging to the cultivation of universal benevolence, the earnest pursuit of knowledge, and the most unrestrained free inquiry upon all important subjects. He was the most unassuming, candid man I ever knew; and never did I hear from his lips, either in lecture or sermon, one illiberal sentiment, or one harsh expression concerning any persons who differed from him, not even of the individuals who were so much in the practice of abusing him and traducing his character."

See "A Sketch of the Principal Means which have been employed to ameliorate the Intellectual and Moral Condition of the Working Classes at Birmingham. By William Matthews," (1830,) p. 11, *note*. In a letter from Mr. Matthews, "Dec 26, 1831," he says,

"I perceive that you allude to the Birmingham Political Union in a note, [I. p. 356,] and probably to Dr. Priestley is remotely to be ascribed the great change in the mental and moral character of the town. He certainly

Birmingham. I mean some time or other to publish an account of my classes, and for this purpose shall be obliged to Miss Russells to furnish me, if they can, with a second copy of the subjects of their exercises.

How I shall be disposed of here I cannot tell. There are, I hear, many orthodox females at Hackney, who will not approve of my being invited to succeed Dr. Price, and in that case I believe a Unitarian chapel will be built for me, and this I shall like as well.

Perhaps you may have heard that I preached last Sunday, for the first time, to a congregation of Calvinistic Baptists at Amersham, near Missenden, who unanimously requested it,* and the Sunday following I was invited to preach at two other similar places, one an Independent congregation at Beaconsfield, near Mr. Burke's; but I was obliged to be in London. This could not have taken place before the riots, so that some good has been done by them.

I am glad that you do not disapprove of my not returning to Birmingham. Indeed, the more I think of it, the more I am satisfied that I shall be better placed here, though you know it is a thing that I was far from wishing. As you do not think it necessary, I shall defer my answer to the congregation some time longer.

My wife is here, and very well. She desires to be particularly remembered to you and your daughters, as well as to Mr. and Mrs. G. Russell.

TO REV. JOSHUA TOUMINL.†

DEAR SIR,

London, Oct. 7, 1791.

I HAVE received the *Addresses*, from the Dissenters in your

gave a great impulse to the current of improvement; and the persons who have made the greatest efforts since he left, were amongst those constituting his highest Sunday class. I am the youngest by many years, but hope and believe that none surpassed me in exertions to benefit the place of my birth”

* Noticed by Dr. Priestley in his American edition of the “Appeal to the Professors of Christianity.” W. XXV. 337.

† Taunton.

district, to myself, and the two congregations at Birmingham, which I immediately transmitted to Mr. Russell. As your meetings are annual, you will excuse the formality of an answer, and assure those of the Society that you may meet with, that I am more than consoled for my sufferings by their generous sympathy, and that of my other friends in all parts of England, and especially those which I receive from persons of a persuasion different from my own.

The present is the triumph of bigotry; but it cannot be lasting, though favoured, as it evidently is, by the court. At Birmingham the spirit of party is, I fear, as high as ever, which would make my return not only hazardous, but probably hurtful on the whole. The people will sooner come to their right mind in my absence from them. I have therefore taken a house at Hackney,* though without any certain prospect of employment as a preacher. I have many friends in Dr. Price's late congregation; but many of the elderly people, and especially the women, who are numerous in it, are apprehensive that my coming may excite another tumult, and be the means of bringing them into trouble.†

TO THE NEW MEETING CONGREGATION.

MY DEAR FRIENDS,

London, Oct. 8, 1791.

I NEVER felt myself in a more painful situation than the present, in consequence of sitting down to answer your two most affectionate Addresses, inviting me to return to the exercise of my ministry among you, after having been driven away by lawless violence.

Not only on my leaving Birmingham, but some time after my arrival in London, I had no idea but that of a temporary retreat, thinking that the violence of party spirit, having had its triumph, would be satisfied, and that perhaps, repentance succeeding, I might resume my functions with more advantage than before; but every account that I have received having represented the spirit of party as more inveterate than I had imagined it to be, so that in all probability my return would only

* Clapton.

† *Orig. MS.*

inflame it, and, in consequence of this, my situation, if safe, would be uncomfortable, and perhaps hurtful, it is my deliberate opinion that it will be better for some other person less obnoxious to popular prejudice to take my place, and that I may be more usefully fixed in London, or its neighbourhood.

I hope I need not assure you that it is with the greatest regret that I at length, after much hesitation, have come to this resolution, in forming which, considerations of a more private nature, but to which no man is or ought to be wholly insensible, have likewise had their influence.

Never, I believe, was any Christian minister more happy in his situation than I have been with you. My sentiments concerning you are not only those of respect and affection, but of pride. It has been my boast that no congregation that I have been acquainted with was so candid, so well-informed, and so ready to adopt whatever their ministers recommended to them for their edification, and that, in consequence of it, your regulations were the best adapted to form intelligent and serious Christians. Our example was looked up to by other and distant congregations, who were excited to form themselves upon our model. I had also perfect liberty, which few Dissenting ministers have, to follow all my favourite pursuits of every kind, and to preach and write, without the least hazard of giving offence, whatever I thought proper. I had, therefore, no other wish than to live and die among you.

But as I hope the good that has been done will never be undone, owing especially to the almost unprecedented zeal and excellent spirit of the young people among you, whose Addresses will for ever endear them to me, and whose example, wherever it is known, must contribute to instruct and warm others, I have the less regret in now signifying my intention of resigning my pastoral charge, but not till I have seen your affairs in some measure re-established, and some prospect of your being able to do as well without me; and as some time must be fixed, I mention Christmas next.

As soon, then, as you shall have provided a place in which I can officiate, I shall with peculiar pleasure resume my functions among you, and continue them till the time above-men-

tioned; and if it please God that I should die in your service, I shall not (seeing no apparent cause of apprehension, such as would justify my flight from my proper station) think it will close unseasonably with respect to myself or the world.

I am, my friends and fellow-christians, your affectionate pastor.*

FROM DISSENTERS OF BRISTOL AND BATH.

REV. SIR,

Bristol, Oct. 10, 1791.

WE, the undersigned Protestant Dissenters of the cities of Bristol and Bath, being deeply affected by the calamities which have lately befallen you and our brethren in Birmingham, beg leave to express to you the sentiments we feel on the occasion.

Differing as we do in opinion on various points of speculation, we unite in lamenting that a spirit of bigotry, which would have been a disgrace to the darkest ages of Christianity, should have discovered itself in this country at the close of the eighteenth century, and particularly that its fury should have been principally directed against a person whom we presume every other country on the globe would be proud to call its citizen.

Sincerely sympathising with you on the losses you have sustained, losses which we consider as of a public, and not merely of a private nature, we feel some alleviation of our anxiety in the reflection that your life and health are preserved, and that the world, which has received so much improvement from your writings, has now an opportunity of improving by the example which you have exhibited of firmness and magnanimity in the most perilous circumstances.

We fervently hope that these outrages, so disgraceful to the age and country in which we live, will prove the expiring efforts of the spirit of persecution, and that they will finally be productive of good, by exciting a general abhorrence of the principles from which they proceed, by effecting a closer union among Dissenters of different denominations, as engaged in one

* *Appeal*, p. 180.

common cause, and by diffusing a spirit of inquiry into the nature and foundation, and an ardent zeal for the extension, of religious and civil liberty.

We request you to convey our sentiments of sympathy and attachment to our brethren and your fellow-sufferers in Birmingham, and are, with cordial respect, Rev. Sir, your sincere friends and Protestant Dissenting brethren.*

FROM THE NEW MEETING CONGREGATION.

REV. AND DEAR SIR, *Birmingham, Oct. 24, 1791.*

YOUR truly interesting letter of the 8th instant has deeply affected us. We are grieved to an excess at the separation it announces, and the apparent necessity of our acquiescing in it, and in your own deliberate opinion that it will be more for the general good to have some other person fill your place here, and that you may be more usefully employed in London or its neighbourhood.

It is with the most painful reluctance that we yield to this truly humiliating conclusion, without importuning you with our entreaties that you would reconsider it, and resume your first purpose of speedily returning to us; but seeing it your deliberate judgment, and knowing the circumstances which surround us, we patiently resign our wills, and, urging you no farther, most devoutly pray our heavenly Father that your prospect of greater usefulness may be realized; that many souls may yet be added to your faithful ministry; that your glorious career of usefulness and benevolence may long be continued; and that your final removal from it to the realms of light may be serene and happy.

You will permit us to add, that the apprehensions which we have been recently informed some of our wisest and best friends entertain for your safety, should you prosecute your intended return to us, necessarily compel us to make a farther sacrifice of our anxious desires to see you here. We are in-

* "One hundred and six from Bristol, twenty-two from Bath." MS. from Dr. Estlin's papers.

deed truly sorry to abandon the prospect of your promised return, though it is but for a few weeks; but we should be wanting in affection towards yourself, and in respect to the general good of mankind, were we not to attend to these apprehensions. Indeed, Sir, we speak very sincerely, when we declare that we bear you too sincere and fervent an affection; that we have too great a value for your peace and safety; are far too anxious for your preservation from insult, to consent that you should upon the present occasion expose your person to the hazard of it.

Give us leave, then, with hearts full of respect and affection, to entreat you to forego for the present your purpose of visiting us as our pastor; and let us repeat the assurance conveyed by our first letter, that when the season of perfect tranquillity and safety approaches, we shall most cordially hail your return to us for any period your other important connexions and engagements may admit. In the mean time, anxious to maintain an intercourse with you, and desirous of your aid and concurrence in our choice of a suitable person to assist your worthy coadjutor, the Rev. W. Blythe, we request that if you know of any gentleman whom you think suitable for us, and whom you have reason to expect would wish for such an establishment, you will favour us with your nomination of him.

We are, with the liveliest sentiments of gratitude, respect and affection, dear and Rev. Sir, your truly affectionate friends and fellow-christians.*

TO REV. J. BRETLAND.†

DEAR SIR,

London, Oct. 27, 1791.

I WROTE to you before, on the receipt of the Address from the ministers of your district.‡ As their meeting is half-yearly, I did not think they would expect a formal answer. I beg therefore you would give my respects to them individually, and assure them that I feel myself much encouraged by the sense they express of my sufferings, and those of my friends at Birmingham, and especially that, notwithstanding a

* *Appeal*, p. 182.

† *Exeter*.

‡ *Supra*, p. 154.

considerable difference in sentiment, they are sensible that, as *Dissenters*, we have a common cause, and have an equal claim for protection, while we behave as good subjects.

The congregation at Hackney have not yet agreed to invite me, about one-third opposing it, chiefly from apprehension of tumults, and wishing to stand well with their friends in the establishment. I imagine, however, that this difficulty will be overcome, and that I shall receive the invitation after the next Sunday.

I have ordered a copy of my Letters to the Swedenborgians to be sent to you, and hope you have received it. My "Appeal to the Public on the subject of the Riots in Birmingham" is nearly printed, but will not be published till about the meeting of Parliament.

I proposed, in answer to the last Address from the congregation, to go and preach to them till Christmas, but this they declined for fear of tumults.

P. S. Give my respectful compliments to Mr. Tremlett, with thanks for his Bible and letter. I have lately received fourteen out of sixty-four leaves of my translation. Though torn and trampled upon, they will be useful to me.

My best respects to your good father.*

TO THE NEW MEETING CONGREGATION.

MY CHRISTIAN FRIENDS, *London, Oct. 28, 1791.*

IT adds not a little to my affliction, occasioned by my violent expulsion from a congregation to which I have so much reason to be attached, to be deprived of the satisfaction I promised myself from my proposed visit to you, and doing what might be in my power towards your future settlement; but I am more concerned on account of the reason you assign for it, as it argues a continuance of that malignant, persecuting spirit which has been the cause of all our sufferings. What must be the government of a country, nominally Christian, in which such outrages against all law and good order cannot be

* *Orig. MS.*

restrained, and in which a man cannot be encouraged by his best friends to come to the discharge of the duties of a peaceful profession without the apprehension of being insulted, if not murdered!

Do not, however, think that any thing strange or new has happened to us. The enemies of the primitive Christians frequently let loose a licentious populace upon them, when they did not think proper to proceed against them by law; and for this purpose they raised such calumnies against them as made them be considered as the very pests of society. I trust you are so well grounded in the principles of your religion as not to be discouraged at *this*, or any thing else that has befallen us. Though the enemy has burned our places of public worship, and lighted the fires, as I have been informed, with our Bibles, they cannot destroy the great truths contained in them, or deprive us of the benefit of our Saviour's declaration, "Blessed are ye when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you, falsely, for my sake."

Be assured that from the interest I take in your welfare, I shall not fail to mention to you any person that I may hear of who shall appear to me proper to succeed me.

Hoping that you will soon be provided with such a person, and that in consequence of being built up in our holy faith we shall have a happy meeting in a better world, for which all the discipline and trials of this life are excellently fitted to form us, I am, my friends and fellow-christians, yours affectionately.*

FROM THE COMMITTEE OF THE GRAVEL-PIT CONGREGATION.

REV. SIR,

Hackney, Nov. 7, 1791.

WE, the Committee of the congregation of Protestant Dissenters assembling at the Gravel-pit Meeting, Hackney, have been deputed by a general meeting to invite you to accept the office of co-pastor to that society, on the vacancy occasioned by the death of your valued friend, and our highly-esteemed pastor, the late Rev. Dr. Price.

* *Appeal*, p. 183.

We feel a peculiar satisfaction in conveying these sentiments to one who, whilst he has so ably distinguished himself as the firm asserter of civil and religious freedom, has discharged the important duties of a pastor with so eminent a degree of zeal and usefulness.

We earnestly hope you will accept this invitation, and that the connexion between us may long continue, and prove a source of happiness to yourself, and improvement to the society.

That the Divine blessing and favour may crown all your labours among us, and mankind at large, is the ardent prayer of, Rev. Sir, your most obedient and humble servants.*

TO THE COMMITTEE OF THE GRAVEL-PIT CONGREGATION.

MY CHRISTIAN FRIENDS,

AFTER having been driven by violence, highly disgraceful to the Government under which we live, from a situation on every account most pleasing to me, and my connexion with one of the most flourishing and respectable congregations in the country being thereby broken, I think myself happy and honoured by an invitation to succeed my most valued friend, and your late excellent pastor, the Rev. Dr. Price.

My only wish is, to have it in my power to exert myself most effectually in what appears to me the most proper and most important duties of the pastoral office, especially in the particular attention that I wish to give to the younger part of the congregation, according to the plan that I pursued at Leeds and Birmingham.

With my best wishes and prayers for our mutual edification, I am, my Christian friends, your very humble servant.†

FROM THE UNITARIAN SOCIETY.

DEAR SIR,

London, Nov. 10, 1791.

WHILST many societies of Christians, widely differing from

* “Signed Benjamin Travers, Thomas Rickards, John Hurford Stone, John Towgood, Joseph Spurrell.” *Minute Book*.

† *Ibid.* See W. XV. 458.

you in opinion, have, with a noble generosity, publicly declared their esteem for your character and virtues, and sympathize with you in the cause of truth, it would ill become us to be silent, who agree with you in the chief of those sentiments which have, though most undeservedly, rendered you obnoxious to many.

We lament that in the Established Church, to which some of our number belong, blest with the labours and writings of Locke, of Newton, of Hoadley, of Clarke, and of Law, who all of them maintained the Divine Unity, and the sole, unrivalled majesty and worship of the single person of the Father of the universe, for which you have so boldly stood forth, there should have been those in our day who have so far degenerated from their fair example, and the precepts of the gospel, as to copy the manners of the darkest ages of Christian barbarism, in burning places of divine worship, and habitations of peaceful men, of different religious sentiments from their own. And, not content with destroying your house, your library, and curious philosophical apparatus, together with the precious fruits of many years' study, in various branches of science, a loss to the whole world, have threatened to cut short the thread of a life constantly devoted to the glory of the Creator, and the benefit of mankind.

With still deeper concern has it filled our minds to observe many in the metropolis, and in different parts of the country, from narrow prejudices and various unworthy motives, wholly insensible of the enormity of this burning and destroying spirit, for the sake of religion, if not rejoicing in it, when exerted against Dissenters of a certain class, not considering its fatal consequences, and how soon, if not completely quelled, the same lawless spirit may be let loose upon themselves.

It is our ardent prayer, illustrious sufferer, that you may be supported, as hitherto, through the hard conflict to which you have been called; and may continue to exemplify the true Christian spirit, by your magnanimity and pity for your deluded adversaries, and by your habitual cheerfulness, which is the natural attendant on integrity and benevolence.

And our hope is, for our country's honour, that your parti-

cular losses will be amply compensated, and that in no long time all the wise and good throughout the nation will unite their endeavours to remove the principal source of religious animosities, by their earnest and unremitted exertions to obtain from the legislature the equal and impartial protection of law to every good citizen, of whatever mode of faith or religion.*

TO MR. RUSSELL.†

DEAR SIR,

Nov. 11, 1791.

I CANNOT express what I felt in reading the excellent letter from the congregation; it breathes so excellent a spirit, and is so judicious in all respects. I inclose my answer; and as it is of consequence that all the congregations, in our peculiar circumstances, be acquainted with them, and that the town in general should be apprized of the temper we are in with respect to them, I should think it advisable not to insert them in any public papers, but to have some printed copies taken of them, to be shewn where it may be proper. If you approve of this, send me a proof. You need be in no hurry about this; but I wish you would set about rebuilding the meeting-house immediately, so as to have it ready before winter.

We hope you have copies of all the affidavits you send hither. I hope to inclose a copy or two of an excellent little poem, sent me by a person of considerable consequence, but whose name must not be mentioned, to get inserted in the newspapers.

I expect addresses from other Dissenters, besides those of Yarmouth.‡ There, and in other places, the Dissenters are arming to defend their houses, but not the meeting-houses, which I think a proper distinction.§ The ministers, I am told, have heard of this, and are much alarmed.

I am busy in writing my Appeal to the Public. You shall see what I write, and the proper time for publishing will be about a month hence.

I think Thomson may offer money to any who bring in

* "Michael Dodson, chairman." *Appeal*, p. 162. † Birmingham.

‡ *Supra*, p. 126. § See W. X. 442, *ad fin.*

manuscripts, otherwise I fear they will be destroyed. I hope the volume of the Expositor that you had is safe.

Hearing by Mr. Galton that my wife is in much better health and spirits than she was, I am so too. We shall see, I trust, better days than ever, thanks to your wonderful exertions. Every body is justly loud in your praises.

P. S. On second thoughts, you need not send me any proofs. Mr. Coates will correct the press as well as myself. I wish he had seen the poem you sent me, before it was printed.*

TO THE UNITARIAN SOCIETY.

MY CHRISTIAN FRIENDS, *Clapton, Dec. 7, 1791.*

FROM your affectionate address I receive consolation of a kind peculiarly grateful to me. It is that of *brethren* engaged in the same cause. For it is sufficiently evident, that it is my avowed opposition to the doctrine of the Trinity, (which, as affecting the Object of worship, we think it our duty to enter our protest against,) that has rendered me peculiarly obnoxious. But this popular odium, and this degree of persecution, should not, as you are well persuaded, give us any alarm; as it is neither new, nor without obvious uses. This situation seems necessary, in order to draw a sufficient degree of attention to our principles, and without which we cannot expect to see the complete prevalence of such great truths as those for which we are contending. Neither Christianity itself, nor any important reformation of it, was ever fully established without a similar process.

Persecution without law, as in the riots in Birmingham, has been as common as persecution according to the forms of it. By this means, those who have some respect for the more liberal principles of the age, may think to screen themselves from the odium which has fallen on direct persecution for conscience' sake. In this manner were the primitive Christians, the Waldenses, the Albigenes, and the first reformers from Popery frequently treated; a licentious populace being insti-

* *Orig. MS.*

gated by the most atrocious calumnies to fall upon them, and to commit such unexpected ravages, as are more grievous than the known penalty of any law.

We need not be surprised that this persecuting spirit has shewn itself in some members of the Church of England, notwithstanding the valuable labours of the great men you mention, whose principles, had they been duly attended to and followed,* would have ensured universal toleration. For, with men who give but little attention to the essentials of religion, this spirit arises, of course, in every civil establishment of it, Heathen, Catholic, or Protestant, since all persons possessed of power will naturally have recourse to it, when they perceive other methods of promoting their cause to fail. And *all* persons in power are not so far instructed by the light of the present age, or the experience of the past, as to see the miserable policy of such measures. They are the first suggestion of chagrin, though they are sure to end in disappointment.

Let us, my brethren, in the most gloomy prospects, console ourselves with the consideration, that every instance of persecution will render it more odious, and therefore accelerate its final cessation; that ignorance is the proper cause of all wrong conduct, and of this among the rest; that the time is coming when all men, fully enlightened with respect to their relation to each other, and to God, their common parent, will feel as brethren, and be disposed to love and befriend each other, notwithstanding any difference of religious opinion or practice; and, therefore, that what has happened at Birmingham should make us more assiduous to diffuse that light which is sure to be attended with such desirable consequences.

With this cheerful prospect I subscribe myself, my Christian friends, your brother in the faith and hope of the gospel.†

TO REV. J. P. ESTLIN.‡

DEAR SIR,

Clapton, Dec. 10, 1791.

I OUGHT to have written to you some time ago, in answer

* Especially, had *they* fearlessly professed and perseveringly “followed” their “principles.”

† *Appeal*, p. 163.

‡ Bristol.

to the address you transmitted to me from the Dissenters in Bristol and Bath.* As they are not a body that ever meet, I did not think it necessary to write a formal answer to them. I beg, however, that if you see any of them, you would inform them that I was particularly glad to receive such an address, especially as from persons whose opinions on subjects of theology are different from mine. It shews that, notwithstanding these differences, we are still more attentive to the great principles that we all hold in common, and these I hope we all think are of infinitely more importance than those with respect to which we differ.

The last Sunday I preached, for the first time, at Hackney,† and there seems to be a prospect of our going on very well. A few have withdrawn themselves,‡ which was not undesirable. My colleague is not fixed upon. But it seems agreed that I shall be the sole pastor, and the other an afternoon preacher. I shall publish the sermon I delivered the last Sunday, as also another that was delivered in my name lately at Birmingham.§ I shall send you them.

Mr. Jones is going to preach as candidate there, and I have no doubt will be approved. As his province of lecturer in experimental philosophy will be vacant, I have undertaken to fill it *gratis*. It is of great consequence that the college be supported, and I shall think it my duty to do every thing in my power for the purpose. Harry will not be too young to attend some lectures there, and I shall attend to the rest of his education myself. I have directed him to acquaint us by what coach he comes, and at what inn and what time we are to expect him.

I shall be happy to see you here, where we are now tolerably settled, whenever you come to London. In the mean time, I am, with our best respects to Mrs. and Miss Estlin, and love to Harry, dear Sir, yours sincerely.||

* See *supra*, p. 166.

† A sermon to which I have referred, I. 16, note †.

‡ See *supra*, p. 118, note †.

§ By Mr. Coates. See W. XV. 458, 475.

|| *Orig.* MS.

TO MR. RUSSELL.*

DEAR SIR,

Clapton, Jan. 11, 1792.

I HARDLY know when I have received more pleasure than from your last, giving me so good an account of Mr. Edwards. I hope his health and spirits will continue, and then you will certainly be provided with two of the cleverest young ministers in England, and our enemies will find they have gained nothing by expelling me.

You may publish the *Appeal* whenever you please, and I think we need be under no apprehension about any thing that Messrs. Curtis and Madan can do against us. Desire Thompson to make the same presents as of the sermons, not forgetting two to Mr. Watson, and Mr. J. Basome, at Kidderminster, and to Mr. Keir.

I do not know what to say about preaching your charity sermon. Another year may, perhaps, do better. But I will think of it. I shall write to-morrow to Mr. Keir, to satisfy him that I took nothing amiss in his letter.

Mr. Vaughan thinks you have not used Mr. Romilly well. He had not only nothing for his trouble, but is not retained in any of the causes. Suppose I retain him in mine? I am glad to hear that your claims are not likely to be contested. I wish we were all in the same case.†

TO THE SAME.

DEAR SIR,

London, Jan. 21, 1792.

I CANNOT express how much pleasure your letter, acquainting me with your acceptance of Mr. Jones,‡ has given me,

* Birmingham.

† Orig. MS.

‡ Who died several years since, in the profession of the law. He had been distinguished by some spirited pamphlets, containing strictures on Bishop Horsley, &c., under the signature of a *Welch Freeholder*. See W. XIX. 432, 433, 441, *notes*. Mr. Matthews has thus described his attention to general popular instruction, while fulfilling his Christian ministry at Birmingham:

“In 1794 and 1795, Mr. David Jones, who afterwards was at the Chancery bar, delivered some admirable courses of lectures on the philosophy of the human mind, as connected with education, the theory of morals, and also on

having been much depressed with the account I had received of the probability of his being rejected. The charge of three ministers, in addition to your other great expenses, must, no doubt, be heavy; but you have, I doubt not, considered the uncommon urgency of the occasion, and that the eyes of the country, and, in some measure, of all Europe, are upon you. I feel more interested for your conduct and success than when I was with you, and I now feel more proud of you than ever. Never was money expended to better purpose than it is at this time with you; and when the history of the late transactions, and of your conduct, goes down to posterity, it must be to your immortal honour. Indeed, the importance of your conduct appears but imperfectly at present.

On this account I particularly wish that your spirits may not sink, and that you would not be intimidated from doing yourselves that justice which the laws of your country hold out to you. Mr. Johnson, of Kenilworth, says, the court formerly hated the Dissenters, but that if they do not prosecute the magistrates, they will despise them. This Mr. Galton tells me. However, I would fain know by a spirited letter, such as no person can write better than yourself, whether the ministry will make any use of the affidavits you have sent them.

After this you can take your own measures, and consider how far you may avail yourselves of the strength of opposition, which they are certainly ready to give us; and the critical state of Ireland will make the court less haughty in their behaviour to us. But if we shew no degree of spirit, these circumstances will avail us nothing. A public trial is desirable, if for no other purpose, that the affidavits may be published. Then the country at large will be the judges, and, in time, do us justice. All the Dissenters here that I converse with hold this language. Now is not the time to feel intimidation or despondence. Our enemies have much more cause

general history. The admission to all the lectures was *gratuitous*, and as the style of the lecturer was remarkably simple, his manner earnest and unassuming, and his illustrations peculiar felicitous, the interest which they excited occasioned them to be very numerous attended, by persons of both sexes, of different religious persuasions." *Sketch*, pp. 14, 15.

for fear, and they will find more so every day, as new publications and free discussion will demonstrate how much they have been in the wrong. You need not fear any more riots, and the clergy of your town will be overawed by the superior ability and spirit of your ministers.

There appears reason to think that my *Appeal* will make a favourable impression. Desire Thompson to print 250 copies of the addresses of the congregation, the young people, and my answers.*

FROM THE COMMITTEE OF PROTESTANT DISSENTERS,
ESSEX.

SIR,

Hatfield, Feb. 1792.

WE, the Committee of Protestant Dissenters of the county of Essex, lately appointed in behalf of their civil interests, take the first opportunity to assure you that we join our brethren, the Dissenters of England, and the friends of justice and humanity in general, to deplore those barbarous efforts of party-spirit and licentious cruelty which have disgraced the town of Birmingham, and will dishonour the annals of our country, while the history of the eighteenth century shall be remembered.

We peculiarly regret that a citizen, whose life is devoted to pursuits the most laudable and important, should suffer an interruption of his labours, distressing to an active mind, and so detrimental to the interests of society. At the same time, we cheerfully confide in the wise arrangements of a benevolent Providence, which overrules the vices of men for the most valuable purposes, and, to enlarge the boundaries of knowledge, can employ even the desolating rage of bigotry and ignorance.

You have felt, Sir, the superiority of Christian principles in an hour of accumulated distress, and we hope your life may be long preserved to triumph over the malice of your enemies and to improve the world by your valuable writings; for though we differ from you on a variety of interesting questions, yet we are united by the most ardent wishes to promote

* *Orig. MS.*

the extension of civil and religious liberty, and to encourage that freedom of inquiry which must eventually produce the universal acknowledgment of truth, and the perfection of the human character.*

TO MR. RUTT.

SIR,

Clapton, Feb. 17, 1792.

I BEG you would return my thanks, in the most respectful manner, to the Committee of Protestant Dissenters in Essex, for their very acceptable address to me. It is more particularly pleasing to me, as a proof that difference of sentiment on subjects of considerable importance in religion, does not always lessen a regard to the common principles of Christianity and humanity; which, indeed, are of infinitely more value than all those with respect to which we differ.

With such sentiments as those contained in this address, all Christians may consider one another as brethren, and feel a common interest in all that befalls them; and this will gradually tend to lessen party-spirit in this world, and fit us for meeting in a better.†

* Signed "Samuel Shaen, chairman." *Orig. MS.*

This address I communicated to Dr. Priestley, having been appointed a delegate from the Dissenters in Essex, to promote with others from the different counties, and in concert with the Committee of the Deputies in London, the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts.

At the first meeting of this Association, Feb. 1, 1792, an address to Dr. Priestley was proposed, besides one to the other sufferers in the Birmingham riots. This address I had the honour of advocating, (see M. R. XVII. 229,) though, to secure unanimity, by conciliating a few well-meaning *alarmists*, it was at length resolved to present only one address, in which Dr. Priestley was mentioned in terms of the highest respect. See *Appendix to the Appeal*; W. XIX. 439, 568

I recollect, with no small satisfaction, that on this occasion commenced a most agreeable and instructive personal intercourse, which I enjoyed during many years, with the late Rev. T. Belsham, who had been chosen a delegate by the Dissenters in the county of Worcester.

The illiberal spirit which now began to prevail in the court and the parliament, soon interrupted the proceedings of the Deputies and Delegates, and the question of the Repeal was postponed for more than 30 years.

† *Orig. MS.*

TO REV. J. P. ESTLIN.*

DEAR SIR,

Clapton, Feb. 18, 1792.

BY the advice of our friends in the House of Commons, the Anti-trinitarians in London have agreed to present the inclosed petition† to Parliament this session, and we hope to have the concurrence of the friends of free inquiry (among whom may be even Trinitarians) in some of the principal towns in the country. I depend upon your activity to get it signed by as many as you conveniently can in Bristol and its neighbourhood, so as to be returned in a fortnight. You will direct that the names be written horizontally, that no vacant spaces be left when the different sheets are pasted together here.

* Bristol.

† For the repeal of the persecuting statute, (9 and 10 William III.,) entitled, "An Act for the more effectual Suppression of Blasphemy and Profaneness," a relief, (though unhappily limited to *Christians*,) which, in 1813, my friend, Mr. William Smith, M. P. for Norwich, had the honour of effecting. See W. X. 488, 495 *note*.

This repeal was proposed by Mr. Fox, May 11, 1792, and refused by a majority of 79. (*N. A. Reg.* XHI. 77.) I then heard, and Dr. Priestley heard, the most just and liberal sentiments, conveyed in the most attractive form by the honourable mover. "Mr. Burke's ingenuity," as Mr. M'Cornick observes, "whatever the subject of debate might be, whether religious or political, could always find means of introducing his favourite topic, the French revolution." On this occasion he mourned, with rancorous eloquence, the fall of "the King's castle at Paris," and *performed* a part, only second to his exhibition of the famous *dagger-scene*; especially maligning the Unitarians, because "they talked of virtue, and of human bliss," as likely to be advanced, eventually, by a popular rising against the Bourbon despotism. Nor did the political *manager* suffer this celebrated *performer* to quit the stage unrewarded.

"It is true, Mr. Burke had not then actually begun to receive any of his pensions of £3,700 a year, but his first pension of £1200 a year for his own life, and that of his wife, though dated Sept. 24, 1795, was made to commence Jan. 5, 1793; and the other two pensions of £2500 a year for three lives, were to commence July 24, 1793, though the patents, for very obvious reasons, are dated October, 1795. The two last pensions he sold for £2700. Yet this is the incorruptible patriot," adds Mr. M'Cornick, "who declared his devotion to the public service, not *expecting* or *admitting* any reward whatsoever." *Mem. of Burke*, (1798,) pp. 348, 361. It excites no surprise that Mr. Burke's family would have silenced by an *injunction* this too faithful biographer. See his *advertisement*.

We do not expect immediate success, but hope that good will arise from the discussion, and that the way may be prepared for succeeding in a future period.*

TO MR. RUSSELL.†

DEAR SIR,

Clapton, April 25, 1792.

I AM very happy to hear that Mr. Edwards discovers so proper a disposition, and hope he will now go on to your satisfaction. I had rather that you should revise what he writes, than Mr. Scholefield: but the only thing of real importance is the discussion of the facts; and by all means give Mr. Edwards the particulars for this purpose. They will do for mine afterwards. I will take care to get the article from your paper into the Morning Chronicle and Star, if I can.

Some measures should be taken about the application to Parliament; but as it is now thought that the House will not break up soon, there may be time enough. I do not see why some further indemnifications should not be applied for, especially by those who have received nothing, as Mr. Coates, and others, who have had much too little; but you should by all means come yourself and see Mr. Pitt, in order to get back the affidavits, and be at some absolute certainty about our expectations from the court. If we delay and apply to opposition too late, we shall be despised by all parties.

Yesterday I saw Mr. John Lawrence, and am glad to find that he can sufficiently exculpate you with respect to Dudley, little as that affair amounts to; but it shews the poor shifts the party is driven to. Mr. Madan being made a bishop,‡ (if the report be true,) sufficiently shews the disposition of the court, and should be considered as a signal of hostility by all Dissenters. Time may come, and not be far distant, when the court may want our assistance.§

* *Orig. MS.*

† Birmingham.

‡ "May 3, 1792. The Rev. Dr. Spencer Madan kissed the king's hand at the levee, on being appointed Bishop of Bristol." *Lond. Chron.* LXXI. 421. He had been rector of St. Philip since "April 5, 1787." *Hist. of Birmingham*, p. 360.

§ *Orig. MS.*

TO THE SAME.

DEAR SIR,

Clapton, June 12, 1792.

I SEE that the country is against us, and that no justice is to be had for us in it; and since our friends will not rouse themselves from their present despondency, I approve your resolution of retiring from the scene for a time, though the idea of your final emigration is more than I can well bear, so intimately and happily connected as we have been. I wish it could suit me to accompany you, but to that there are who will never consent. I have a noble letter from the Academy of Sciences at Paris, which Mr. Galton can shew you. I shall prepare a proper answer for publication. The address from my young people pleases me much. I will send my answer to-morrow. To leave such a congregation and such friends is painful indeed; but the will of God be done. I have sent Mr. Galton my Address to the Public, to be published some time hence, but I shall alter and add to it. I have desired him to shew it to you, if there be time. If you see it, give me your general opinion.

On the other side, I have sent a letter for Pearson's paper, if you approve of it.*

TO MR. J. H. STONE.†

DEAR SIR,

Clapton, June 17, 1792.

YOUR letters are peculiarly acceptable in the present state of affairs, and I hope you will not fail to continue them as you find leisure. Your brother, however, is so good as to communicate what you write on public affairs, and provided I know your sentiments, I do not care through what channel they come.

I have written to M. François on the subject of my citizenship and nomination to the Conventional Assembly, including a letter to the National Assembly; and lest they should be intercepted here, I will, if I can, avail myself of the packet going to you from your brother, hoping that you would lose no time in

* *Orig.* MS,

† Who died at Paris a few years since. See W. XXV. 131.

delivering it. If this fail, I must venture it by the post; and I have nothing to say that I care who sees.*

I lament with you the horrid violences committed in France, especially on my old friend and correspondent the Duke de la Rochefoucauld.† I cannot believe he was concerned in any plot in favour of the king; but let me know what is said, and what you think on the subject. I hear those violences are now at an end. It fact, nothing so outrageous can continue long.

I rejoice that on the whole affairs wear so good an aspect, and that the foreign enemy does not appear to be formidable. Both M. Français and my son agree with you in this. I hope you received a letter I wrote to you some time ago, and which I committed to the care of your brother. I shall now consider the politics of France more particularly, and communicate my sentiments occasionally through M. Français to the Conventional Assembly; and in order to form a better judgment, shall be happy to be instructed by you with respect to the state of facts and opinions in France. Do you think that the French could bear to be excluded from being spectators of the Assembly? If they could keep their debates to themselves, and publish only the results of them, as was done by the American Congress, it would add greatly to their dignity.‡ Any hint on this or any other subject would much oblige, dear Sir, yours sincerely.§

* See *ibid.* p. 118.

† Then “at the head of the directory of the department” of Paris, “with the former Bishop of Autun, M. Talleyrand,” now (1832) ambassador to the court of London from *Louis Philippe*.

In August, 1792, M. Rochefoucauld “retired” from Paris “to his own estate. He was scarcely arrived before he was assassinated, his own tenants either aiding in the murder, or, at least, looking on with criminal stupefaction.” *N. A. Reg.* XIII. 155, 176, 177. See *supra*, p. 87, note §; W. XXV. 121.

‡ “This kind of prevision of Dr. Priestley was justified in the most remarkable manner by subsequent events. Nothing contributed more to the horrors of Jacobinism, the murder of the king, and of the *Gironde*, than the publicity of the sittings of the Convention. Each moderate motion was defeated by the Jacobin members, powerfully supported by the yells and imprecations of the lowest rabble, with whom the leaders took care to fill the public tribune.” *Charles Coquerel*, Paris.

§ Communicated by M. Coquerel, from the *Orig.* MS. in his possession.

TO MR. RUSSELL.*

DEAR SIR,

Clapton, June 22, 1792.

MY first account of the business at Paris† was from the public papers. I had no expectation of any such thing; but if it had been my own wish and procurement, what harm was there in it? This country is not likely to be a desirable situation for any child of mine, and therefore it is natural for me to look for a settlement for them elsewhere. On the other hand, it is natural for the people of Birmingham to be offended at whatever throws a reflection upon them, and they must expect much more exasperation of the same kind.

I am sorry for the mistake between you and Mr. Belsham, who says he had no idea of your expecting an account of the debate‡ from him, as he never undertook to do it. It is now too late.

I shall be very glad to see Mr. Hutton's account of the riots. I am sure he will do it well, and in good temper.§ I do not

* Birmingham.

† The presentation of his son William to the National Assembly as a French citizen, by M. Français, of Nantes, June 8, 1792. See W. XXI. 87, 594.

‡ "May 21, on a motion of Mr. Whitbread's to inquire into the conduct of the magistrates, and the prosecution of the offenders concerned in the Birmingham riots.

"He had in his hand thirty-six affidavits, all agreeing in substance, and all charging the magistrates with gross neglect of duty. Among other instances, they mentioned that two justices, Rev. Dr. Spencer, and Mr. Carles, walked arm-in-arm through the crowd, and both joined in the huzzas of the mob, and in the cry of *Church and King*."

"Justice Carles also said to a company of the rioters, 'Do not do any other mischief than pulling down the meetings, and I will stand your friend, as far as lies in my power. My lads, be true to your cause. Do not leave *them* Presbyterian dogs a place standing.'

"Mr. Brooke, the deputy under-sheriff for the county of Warwick," besides other indications of criminal concert, "was seen with the mob huzzaing, and exclaiming, *Church and King*."

"The debate was, however, entirely unproductive, Mr. Whitbread's motion being negatived by a large majority." *N. A. Reg.* XIII. 75, 76. See W. XIX. 435.

§ See *infra*, "July 7."

mean to bring out any thing more till the account is fairly closed, and I can state the whole, with remarks on every part of it. I have some thoughts of doing it in the form of a letter to a person in France, rather than as a second part of my *Appeal*.

I am concerned to hear of the rancour with which you continue to be treated at Birmingham, where your public spirit and disinterested services have been unexampled; but in this manner has not patriotism almost always been requited? We must not look for our recompence here.*

TO REV. JOSHUA TOULMIN.†

DEAR SIR,

Clapton, July 5, 1792.

I AM much concerned to hear of the timidity of some of the friends of Unitarianism in your part of the world, but hope you will be able to establish a society for the distribution of books, similar to that in London.‡ We are all much obliged to you for your excellent discourse§ at the opening of the Unitarian meeting.¶ The cause will gain ground, notwithstanding all obstructions.

I am thankful for having found a comfortable settlement here, though I see but little prospect of having Mr. Belsham for my colleague.¶

TO MR. WILLIAM HUTTON.

DEAR SIR,

Clapton, July 7, 1792.

I THANK you for the great pleasure I have had in reading your excellent *Account of the Riots in Birmingham*.** Though

* *Orig. MS.*

† Taunton.

‡ Among Dr. Toulmin's publications is "The Character of Christ, as the Witness to the Truth. A Sermon at Crediton, Sept. 6, 1792, on the formation of an Unitarian Society in the West of England." M. R. X. 672.

§ On "The Promise of Christ's Presence with his Disciples." *Ibid.*

¶ "Bridwell Chapel, near Ufeulme, Devon., Jan. 4, 1792." *Ibid.*

¶ *Orig. MS.*

** "A Narrative of the Riots in Birmingham, July 14, 1791, particularly as they affected the Author. Written in August that year," with a "Dedi-

written while the dismal scene, in which you were so great and undeserved a sufferer, was recent, you preserve the same cheerful and benevolent spirit that distinguishes every thing you have written, and even that pleasant humour that always delights me in your works. I think it cannot fail to do good with those who are capable of reading with candour; and some I hope there are of that class in all places, Birmingham itself not excepted. You will, however, excuse a few remarks.

First. You are too complimentary to myself.*

Second. You are candid, I think, to an excess, and seem to consider all religions as alike, which will make many persons imagine you are an unbeliever. Two opposite systems cannot both be true; and whatever any man deem to be important

cation to the Lovers of Riot." When Mr. Hutton, in 1798, prepared his Life for a posthumous publication, he thus introduced the Narrative:

"This year began prosperously, as many had done before it. My family loved me; were in harmony. I enjoyed the amusements of the pen, the court, [of Requests,] and had no pressure upon the mind but the declining state of health of her I loved. But a calamity awaited me I little suspected. The riots in 1791, which hurt my fortune, destroyed my peace, nearly overwhelmed me and my family, and not only deprived us of every means of restoring to health the best of women, but shortened her days.

"I wrote a History of that most savage event at the time, with a view of publication, but my family would not suffer it to see the light. I shall now transcribe with exactness the manuscript copy." The Narrative thus concludes:

"We have now taken a concise view of the rise and propress of a species of punishment inflicted on innocence, which would have been insufferable for the greatest enormities; and with a tear I record the sorrowful thought, that there appeared afterwards no more repentance on one side than there had been faults on the other." Mr. Hutton adds,

"I entered Birmingham July 14, 1741, as a runaway apprentice, a forlorn traveller, without money, friend, or home; and that day fifty years began those outrages, which, when a wealthy inhabitant, drove me from it, and left me in a more deplorable state of mind than at the former period." See "Life of William Hutton," (1816,) pp. 150—213, 216.

As a "Preface" to "the Riots in 1791," in "History of Birmingham," (Ed. 3,) Mr. Hutton says, "I have celebrated that industry, civility, and peaceable turn, which does honour to a people; all founded in fact; but now we enter upon bigotry, licentiousness, disorder, insult, rapine, burnings, and murder. I am exceedingly sorry this is also true." *History*, (1806,) p. 389.

* See *supra*, p. 150, *ad fin.*

truths, he must wish that others would embrace. Hence you should not condemn the spirit of proselytism.* You cannot, indeed, do it without condemning the conduct of the apostles and reformers in all ages.

If you think there is any thing worth your notice in this remark, you will shorten one part of your work, which I think will well bear it.

I often speak of your case as the hardest of any of the sufferers. There was an ostensible and plausible reason for attacking me, but you had done nothing amiss.† Every trial, how-

* Dr. Priestley must refer to a digression commencing with an expression of surprise, "that men of a liberal education should persevere in the ancient mode of quarrelling for religion;" then, proceeding to declare "that every religion upon earth is right," that "the different modes of conducting worship are only ceremonials, which are in themselves indifferent," and concluding with the following passage:

"However just might have been Dr. Priestley's sentiments, yet had he not promulgated them on one side, and party violence opposed them on the other, perhaps the peace of my life had never been wrecked in the dreadful tempest of ninety-one, but I had continued upon an equal footing with my fellow-townsmen. If the doctor chooses to furnish the world with candles, it reflects a lustre upon himself, but there is no necessity to carry one. It is the privilege of an Englishman to walk in darkness if he chooses." *Life*, pp. 161—168.

Mr. Hutton had before observed, that "to dispute with the doctor was deemed the road to preferment. He had already made two bishops; and there were still several heads which wanted mitres." *Ibid.* p. 161.

Having remarked that "if one religion merits a preference to another, that preference ought to arise from an extension of benevolence," Mr. Hutton adds, "This character, I am told, belongs to the disciples of the celebrated Emmanuel Swedenborg, for they with open arms enfold the whole human race, and treat them as brethren." *Ibid.* p. 166.

† As expressed in the *Appeal*, adding, "Mr. Hutton suffered the extreme of injustice himself, for nothing but his unwearied endeavour to procure justice for others," having become "obnoxious to the lower classes of the people on account of the strict and exemplary discharge of his duty in the Court of Requests." W. XIX. 393, 495, 496. Mr. Bage thus writes to Mr. Hutton, "Elford, Jan. 24, 1793:"

"In Dr. Priestley's late publication he makes just and honourable mention of thee. I am pleased to see the good doctor in print on any subject except theology; but at present nothing from him will be attended to. No man's ear is open to any thing but *damn the French*, and *damn the Presbyterians*. I abstain from all society, because respect for my moral principles is scarcely sufficient to preserve me from insult, on account of my political." See "Life of Hutton," *Addenda*, p. 7.

ever, in which we behave as we ought, will be of use, both to ourselves and others.

By the help of my friends, I have once more furnished my laboratory, and am beginning to work again. If it be a second time demolished, I shall not make a third attempt.

With my best respects to your son and daughter, I am, dear Sir, yours sincerely.*

TO MR. RUSSELL.†

DEAR SIR,

Clapton, July 19, 1792.

I REJOICE much in the prospect of seeing you, and receiving you into my house; and come when you will, I shall be fully at liberty, as I do not intend to go any whither this summer. This too will be a motive with me to set about answering Mr. Burn,‡ which, however, I wish to put off as long as I can; and indeed it is the most irksome business I ever undertook, though I do not apprehend there will be any difficulty in it. If Mr. Edwards's fourth number § be tolerable, encourage him to print it; and surely, called upon as we are to produce our facts, no unfair advantage will be taken of it, though all the affidavits be printed. They appeal to the public, and we only answer to their call. All indifferent people will cry shame of them, if they do. I have arranged all the affidavits in order, and intend to give the substance of them.

I congratulate you on the fourteenth having passed so well with you,|| as it did with us. We are at the mercy of our enemies; but they may think it prudent to abstain from doing us any

* *Ibid.* p. 3.

† Birmingham.

‡ See *supra*, p. 120.

§ Of "Letters to the British Nation." See W. XIX. 441.

|| "An "erroneous report that a second commemoration of the French Revolution was intended at Birmingham," called forth Dr. Parr's "Letter from Irenopolis to the Inhabitants of Eleutheropolis." It is, says Mr. Field, "full of just reasoning, noble sentiment, and fine writing; and one knows not whether to admire most the fair, the candid, the conciliatory spirit of the writer, or the beauty, the energy, and the dignity of the composition. It has been pronounced by many competent judges the best of Dr. Parr's publications, and it was begun and finished in the course of a single day." See "Memoirs of the Life, Writing, and Opinions of the Rev. Samuel Parr, LL. D.," (1828,) p. 326.

farther injuries at present.* I did not doubt the propriety of your daughter's behaviour, any more than your own increase of alarm. They are now pretty well trained to it; but do not ascribe all this to my instruction. Their minds have been formed by yourself and their excellent mother.† It is enough for me to have aided your efforts; and it will be happy to meet all whose virtuous exertions we have in any measure aided, in that world for which all the discipline in this is intended to train us. I every day think more of that state, and feel less interested in this. Otherwise, indeed, the late events would be lost upon me.

I have this moment received Mr. Thompson's letter, and shall return the "History of Corruptions," as I am determined he shall print it.

I am now in haste, but at all times most entirely yours and Miss Russell's.‡

TO M. RABAUD.§

SIR,

Sept. 21, 1792 (4th year of Liberty).

I HAVE just received, and consider as a very distinguished honour, the invitation of your Department to sit in the approaching National Convention of France. Such an office is certainly at this time of the utmost importance on the theatre of the world, as the peace and happiness, not only of your country, but of all Europe, and perhaps of the whole human race, are very particularly interested in every thing which may be decided in that Assembly; but my imperfect knowledge of your language, local circumstances, and the important duties of my present situation, prevent me from accepting your invitation. Besides, my studies having been principally directed towards philosophy and theology, and not particularly towards legislation, little could be expected from me in respect to that science; but in every case in which my abilities will permit me to ad-

* Yet, in the preface to his "Fast Sermon, 1794," Dr. Priestley says, "On the 14th of July, 1792, it was taken for granted by many of my neighbours that my house was to come down, just as at Birmingham the year before." W. XV. 521.

† See *supra*, p. 86.

‡ Orig. MS.

§ One of "the Electoral Assembly of the Department of L'Orne."

vance an opinion of any weight, it shall always be at their service, through the medium of my friend and correspondent Français, who is also chosen a member of the Conventional Assembly.

As a minister of religion, the object of my most ardent desires is your happiness. I sincerely pray that the Supreme Being, the Father and Friend of mankind, whose providence directs all events, may destroy the machinations of your enemies, and put an end to the troubles with which you are now agitated, and may He give a speedy and happy establishment to your affairs.

I offer up this prayer both as a Frenchman and Englishman, since we have at length made the happy discovery, so long kept a secret only by the ambition of courts, that France and England, neighbouring nations, have an equal interest in being friends with each other.*

TO MR. RUSSELL.†

DEAR SIR,

Clapton, Oct. 5, 1792.

I HAVE read your letter to me with great satisfaction, and think it will make a very proper addition to my *Appeal*. I shall be happy in every thing that tends to shew and perpetuate our friendship. The letters from Mr. Scholefield, Mr. T. Hawkes, Mr. Galton, and Mr. H. Hunt, are arrived. The effect they have had you will hear of in my answer to Mr.

* *Rabaud* "read two other letters from Dr. Priestley. The one was a request to the National Convention to permit him to decline the honour of sitting among them; the other was an answer to a letter sent him by M. Roland, informing him of his election. In this letter he congratulated the minister on his great talents and activity, and, above all, on his conduct during the stormy moments of the French Revolution. He exhorted him to continue his exertions against the internal enemies of the State, while his brave countrymen were fighting upon the frontiers in defence of liberty.

"These letters were much applauded, and ordered to be inscribed in the *procès-verbal* (Sept. 28); and in answer to his letter addressed to the Assembly, the President was charged to inform him that the Convention would receive with pleasure any reflections which he might be pleased to transmit to them." *Lond. Chron.* LXXII. 325. For Dr. Priestley's Letter "to the National Convention," see W. XXV. 118, *note* †.

† Birmingham.

Scholefield, which I fear will offend all the *Quietists*; but for that there is no help. Mr. Edwards's fourth number I like, and am sorry that he does not publish it; for, as you observe, there is no asperity in it, so that I should have thought the very tamest of them might have borne it.

I have not yet read the various additional documents you have now furnished me with, but I shall set about it immediately, and I imagine I shall have improved my piece with them, so as to be able to begin to print in about a fortnight, and the printing will take about a month, as I see no occasion to be in any hurry. Indeed, as I told you, I do not wish to publish till about Christmas, when every thing relating to the indemnification, &c., shall be settled. Besides, by that time, I hope the aspect of things in France will be clearing up, and much depends upon that, in every case in which civil or religious liberty is concerned. At present there is great cause to hope the best; but some things, I was going to say, "do not look well;" but I have this moment been called out by Mr. Vaughan, to say that the treaty between the King of Prussia and Dumourier (from which we began to think unfavourably of the latter) is terminated, without their coming to any agreement, and the Prussian camp is breaking up. Of what is likely to follow we are ignorant; but as nothing but distress made the king propose the conference, that distress is not likely to be lessened. A few days must now decide much.

Be assured I will not keep the account of the trials* more

* On the too frequent conduct of these trials Mr. Hutton complains, in his *Narrative*, that "by the false lenity of the court, villany became triumphant. Some of the sufferers' witnesses were injured in their property, others personally abused, and others threatened with death. Thus," he adds, "order is inverted, we are making large strides towards anarchy, and are perfectly ripe for another tumult."

After relating several instances of decisions in direct opposition to well-attested facts, Mr. Hutton relates that "a gentleman soon after this, hunting with Mr. Corbett's fox-hounds, was so sure of killing the fox, that he cried, 'Nothing but a Birmingham jury can save him.'" *Life*, p. 207.

While this note is passing through the press, a gentleman, who, at the period of the riots, resided near Birmingham, in the Methodist connexion, and had traversed the ruins at Fairhill, has favoured me with the following communication, in answer to my inquiries:

"Kenton Street, Feb. 4, 1832. Dear Sir—I met my class at Stourport, on

than a few days, for that will be quite sufficient for my purpose. Before I have printed my work, I imagine you will be coming this way. I look to that event with much satisfaction.

Mr. and Mrs. Finch arrived yesterday. They join me in every good wish to you and your daughters.

P. S. By accident this letter was not sent to the post office, and I have seen a letter from Mr. Stone, dated "1 o'clock, 2nd Oct., Hall of the Convention. This moment the news is arrived that the Prussians have raised their camp and are in flight. They have left 5000 sick in the hospitals, and have lost between two and three hundred men. The French army is in pursuit. Custine is before them, so that there is no probability that they can escape being taken."*

Sunday morning, 20th July, 1791. Mr. Rowley" (the minister) "detailed to us the outrages during the preceding week at Birmingham, of which he had been an eye-witness; and they were horrible in the extreme. But what shocked me most, was the hearing so mild and good a man, blinded by prejudice, impute the disgraceful transaction to the Unitarians themselves, and as a certain act of God's *fiery vengeance*, for their inculcating the *damnable doctrines of Socinus*. Dr. Priestley and his damnable errors, came in for his share of abuse, and great astonishment was expressed at his not clearly seeing the *Trinity in Unity*, and all the glories of gospel-grace.

"I reflected on this declamation afterwards, and I remember being severely checked for expressing a desire to see some of the writings of that great man. I could not, however, reconcile myself to the evident approbation exhibited, in narrating the brutal ferocity thus displayed, in which ruffians of the most unprincipled cast, encouraged by villains of a higher station, to their everlasting disgrace, were seen to destroy, without remorse, the invaluable property of their truly respectable neighbours. That the mild, charitable, and humane Rowley, should coolly approve of these outrages, and attribute them to the judgment of God, for a mere difference of religious sentiment, all this seemed to my mind very extraordinary, and I sought in vain to account for it, on Christian principles. But this bigotry was too prevalent at the period, and the Methodists, I must candidly avow, were as violent on this subject as any other classes of society. But there were exceptions to be found among them. I will instance one.

"In 1793 I resided in Birmingham, and the celebrated Mr. Bradburne was the preacher. I went to hear him one Sunday evening, when he enlarged upon the atrocities alluded to, with vehement disapprobation. 'The curse of God,' said he, 'hangs over your town, for the infamous treatment Dr. Priestley experienced among you.' I could have embraced him for the justness of his exclamation; it was so consonant to my feelings. R. DOBIE."

* *Orig.* MS. It was said that when "the Prussians decamped, the

TO THE SAME.

DEAR SIR,

Clapton, Nov. 17, 1792.

I DEFERRED writing to you, thinking to send you a complete copy of the second part of my Appeal; but this I find I cannot do till the next week. I know it will not please many, and perhaps may require some alterations.

I thank you for the MS. I have read about half of it; but it is so low and scurrilous, that I do not know that I shall take any further notice of it. I suspect Mr. Clutton,* the author of this, to be the author of a piece just coming out, called a whole-length picture of me, with the extracts from my publications annexed to it.† It is the extreme of malignity which

French found upwards of 300 horses half eaten." *N. A. Reg.* XIII. 189.

"Oct. 13." Dr. Priestley was brought into strange company, by an advertisement announcing a theological opponent, in the author of "Essays in Divinity and Physic, proving the Divinity of the Person of Jesus Christ, and the Spiritual Sense of Scripture;" also on "Trying of Spirits, Cause and Cure of our Sovereign's late Illness, Animal Magnetism, and Magic. By William Spence, M. D." *Lond. Chron.* LXXII. 353.

* A clergyman of Birmingham, who had preached a sermon in favour of the Test Laws, which was said to have been "peculiarly violent." To Mr. Clutton, also, had been "generally ascribed" a "Letter by Somebody" to Dr. Priestley, on his "Address to the Subscribers to the Birmingham Library." (See *supra*, p. 6.) This Letter appears to have abounded in unjust imputations, expressed in language peculiarly scurrilous. See *W.* XIX. 464, 589, 590, *note*.

† Expectation had been first excited by the following advertisement: "Sept. 27. Speedily will be published, a Small Whole Length of Dr. Priestley, copied from his own Writings. *Mens cujusque, is est quisque.* Rivington."

Then followed, "Nov. 24. This day was published, price 1s., a Small Whole Length of Dr. Priestley, copied from his Printed Works; or, a Free Account (in consequence of a Free Inquiry) of his Style, his Politics, his Feelings, his Logic, his Religion, his Philosophy; concluding with an Analysis; and an Appendix of Extracts from the Writings of Dr. Priestley, which were read in Court, at the Assizes at Warwick." *Lond. Chron.* LXXII. 304, 504.

In the *Appeal*, Part ii., Dr. Priestley exposes the unjust and illiberal use of these "extracts" by his "adversaries' counsel, Mr. Hardinge, the queen's solicitor," while "the judge endeavoured, in vain, to check his violence." See *W.* XIX. 496.

that party shews; but the wonderful turn of affairs in France* will give them other objects, and, in time, humble them sufficiently.

I am glad to find by Mr. Hunt, that no great difficulty is apprehended from the collection for the damages. Other persons, however, I find are full of apprehensions for the consequences.

You say nothing of your coming to London. I hope the scheme is not laid aside.†

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE CONGREGATION OF THE OLD
AND NEW MEETINGS.‡

MY CHRISTIAN FRIENDS, *Clapton, Nov. 22, 1792.*

I AM much affected by the offer of your generous benefaction, “as a testimony of your condolence under my losses in the late riots, and of your respect and attachment to me, which,” you kindly say, “neither time nor distance can diminish.” You must, however, permit me to say, that as I neither want any evidence of your attachment, nor any pecuniary assistance, I cannot accept of it. The generous friends of liberty in other parts of the country, which did not suffer by the riots, and some of them members of the establishment, have already indemnified me for my pecuniary losses, and besides the heavy expenses incurred by you all, in consequence of the riots, the losses of many of you in them have far exceeded mine; though, as becomes Christians, you bear it without repining, and even with joy, from a full persuasion of the goodness of the cause in which you suffer.

It must give you the greatest satisfaction, as it does me, to perceive that this cause has been considerably promoted by the riot, by evincing the malignity of our adversaries, and the evident tendency of their principles to introduce that disorder and

* Where “the disciplined legions of Germany and Prussia” had been “chased from the field” by “battalions composed chiefly of beardless boys.” *N. A. Reg.* XIII. 196.

† *Orig.* MS.

‡ “Who contributed to the sum of 500*l.*, remitted by Mr. Russell.”

confusion into society with which ours are ignorantly charged, and by discovering your own truly generous and Christian-like conduct under their abuse and violence.

The truly liberal and peaceable members of society already do us justice in their opinions of us and our adversaries, and in time, as our case shall be more discussed, and better understood, we cannot doubt but that this justice, which we value more than any thing of a pecuniary nature, will be universally done us, and then the cause which has lately been grossly insulted and oppressed will be every where triumphant.

Be assured that wherever that Providence, which overrules all things, shall place me, which we cannot doubt will always be for the best, my best affections will be at Birmingham, and I shall always feel much interested in your prosperity. Whether I ever meet you there, which was once my earnest wish, is not material; but I trust that those dispositions and that conduct which persecution cannot fail to invigorate, will insure our meeting in a state in which the wicked will cease from troubling, and where we shall still provoke to love and to good works, and mutually promote our virtue and happiness as we have done in this. With the greatest gratitude and the most earnest prayers for your happiness here and hereafter, I am, my Christian friends, yours most affectionately.*

TO MR. RUSSELL.†

DEAR SIR,

Clapton, March 1793.

THOUGH I am happy to hear that you are in so great measure recovered from your indisposition, I am concerned that I do not hear *from* you, and of your coming hither, as you gave us reason to expect, before this time. I wish to see you on many accounts. Indeed, the times are very critical, and require the united councils of all the friends of liberty. I fear the worst, as the court party are triumphant every where, especially on account of the repulse of the French armies, and the distracted state of France, from which indeed every thing is to be feared.

* *Orig.* MS. among Mr. Russell's papers.

† Birmingham.

If I can get a cover for this letter, I will inclose a few copies of a letter* I have been advised to write, in answer to what Mr. Burke said of me in the House of Commons. I am anxious to hear from you.

P. S. An account is just come of a defeat of Dumourier by the Austrians and Prussians on the 18th, after a very obstinate engagement.† You will probably see the particulars in the Star. Mr. Code was transcribing his account from Mr. Malcolm at the Hague for the General Evening Post.

Mr. Galton has sent me two excellent drawings of my house before and during the conflagration, I suppose by Barber. I wish much to see the painting of it that you said was to be raffled for at Birmingham. I hope you bought two lots for me as I desired.‡

TO W. SMITH, ESQ., M. P.

DEAR SIR,

Clapton, April 18, 1793.

I THANK you for the communication of the sentiments of Mr. Fox, which I cannot but approve. Indeed, I greatly admire the whole of his conduct in this business, and I think all the friends of liberty under the greatest obligations to him, as well as to yourself and a few, alas! too few, others. This, indeed, is a trying season, well calculated to discover the purity and strength of men's principles.

As the business of the *riots* will probably be mentioned in the House, when the petition of the hundred comes before you, I think it will be worth while to send you a copy of a note §

* "To the Editor of the Morning Chronicle, March 7, 1793," annexed to the Preface to the "Fast Sermon for 1793." See W. XV. 499.

† "At Neerwinden. The action continued, with great obstinacy on both sides, from seven in the morning till five in the evening, when the French were obliged to fall back, and the Austrian cavalry coming up, put them entirely to flight." *N. A. Reg.* XIV. 160.

‡ *Orig.* MS.

§ "Adelphi, Dec. 14, 1792. Mr. Williams presents his compliments to Mr. Rose, with a copy of Mr. Collins's letter as to the state of things at Birmingham last week. He returned from thence last Sunday, and assures Mr. W. that of the housekeepers or heads of families there and thereabouts

that was found in the Treasury, and lately put into my hands, and to observe upon it, that I had no pupils at Birmingham besides those of my congregation, to whom I taught nothing but theology, without ever mentioning to them the subject of politics.

The indifference with which Mr. Williams speaks of the riots at Manchester is not a little remarkable. How far "the rabble," as he calls them, may be depended upon, you may judge from the following facts. In the town of Dudley, in which not long ago Mr. Paine and myself were burned in effigy, and with some circumstances peculiarly shocking, on the apprehension of something that would [bear] hard on the nail manufactory, a riot was lately apprehended, though the swearing-in of a hundred more constables prevented it; but the cry among the populace was *Paine for ever*, and *No King*.

I also think it right that you and Mr. Fox should be informed that one Matthew Jones, clerk to Mr. Brooke,* used the following expressions in the presence of eleven or twelve persons at the White Hart Tavern in Holborn, in September or October last: "Damn the Presbyterians; damn the rascals; I led the loyal fellows from the Hotel to the New Meeting." Of this I am promised a regular certificate, though not of another anecdote of which Mr. Russell informed me, but which he says he knows to be true, viz. that Lady Aylesford,† being brought to bed not long after the riots, said to the person who

are about ten out of eleven of them firm loyalists, to be depended upon at all times: of the single men and rabble there is also a very great majority to be relied on. The only people there from whom any thing is to be apprehended are some young men brought up under PRIESTLEY.

"An agent of Mr. W.'s, arrived this morning from Liverpool, gives a very good account of that place and of Manchester, save that at the latter the mob on Tuesday last burnt and destroyed Walker's House." See *infra*, p. 205.

* Described in Mr. Hutton's *Narrative* as "John Brooke, the true-blue Church and King's man, and the attorney employed against the sufferers." *Life*, p. 205. See W. XIX. 475, 476.

† See W. XIX. 553.

delivered her, speaking of the rioters, they went farther than we intended. I leave it to your discretion, and that of Mr. Fox, to make what use you think proper of these particulars.*

TO MR. RUSSELL.†

DEAR SIR,

London, April 30, 1793.

YOUR letter affects me very much, and makes me earnestly wish to see you; but while I give lectures at the college, I cannot conveniently leave it till the vacation; besides, such is the state of the country, increasing in malignity against every thing liberal, that it is best for me to keep quiet at home, and neither expose myself or my friends by going any whither. I perceive your resolution, and approve of it, and I take it for granted that I shall very soon be compelled to adopt the same measure.

I do not wonder at your leaving Birmingham. Your merit is too great to be forgiven, and your associates unworthy of you. I rejoice, however, that there are two such men as Mr. Jones and Mr. Edwards to support the same cause. I wish much that his Fast Sermon may be printed. Nothing is ever gained by timidity. I shall print mine,‡ and I hope you will not find it deficient in any thing that you used to approve in my writings.

There is no news but what you will see in the papers, but a general and increasing alarm at the numerous bankruptcies, and the obstinacy of the French. You will see my apprehensions in my sermon. Every thing indicates a beginning of troubles in Europe. I wish my friends, especially my young ones, safely out of it. As to such as myself it is of little consequence whether we go or stay.

I really believe Mr. Pitt is tired of the war, but he is overruled. There is an excellent pamphlet§ just published, on the

* *Orig.* MS. obligingly communicated by Mr. Smith.

† Birmingham.

‡ See *supra*, p. 197, note *.

§ Probably the "Letter, commercial and political, addressed to the Right Honourable William Pitt, in which the real Interests of Britain in the present Crisis are considered, by Jasper Wilson" (*a nomme de guerre*). See *N. A. Reg.* XIV. [201].

causes of the present failures. It came from Liverpool, but I do not know the author.*

TO REV. J. BRETLAND.†

DEAR SIR,

Clapton, June 10, 1793.

I THANK you for yours by Miss Tucker, with whom I am much pleased, and who regularly attends my class. As you and I can only differ in judgment, in consequence of seeing the same thing in different lights, nothing, I am persuaded, will ever happen to diminish our mutual esteem and good-will. I am concerned, however, to hear of your resignation of your charge as minister of the Mint Meeting, in which your usefulness seemed to be continually increasing, especially as I cannot enter into your reasons, as they are reported to me. Nothing, however, can be objected to you, but an excess of scrupulosity, which is always to be respected, at the same time it may be regretted by your friends, who are sorry to see you excluded by it from a situation of great usefulness,‡ when they see no other open to you.

As I understand that your resignation is accepted, will you permit me to recommend to your congregation Mr. Belsham, of our college. Its continuance here is rather problematical. If we must lose him, I wish it may be to your gain, and he will make a valuable addition to your society. The more I see of him, the more I see reason to esteem him, and he has appeared to great advantage in the character of both minister and tutor. In the latter, it is my real opinion that the Dissenters never had his equal.

What the fate of the college will be does not yet appear, and to-morrow there is to be a public dinner§ of its friends, and some time ago I thought better of its aspect, and now I am not without hopes. I wish, however, to secure a pleasing retreat for Mr. Belsham, in case of the worst happening; and if the college be removed, I do not think he will be disposed to fol-

* *Orig. M*

† *Exeter.*

‡ See I. 191.

§ Which I well remember, as one of the too rare occasions of my personal intercourse with Dr. Priestley.

low it. In case of his removal to Exeter, perhaps yours might be resumed.

I should be more concerned to part with Mr. Belsham, but that I consider my stay in this country as very uncertain. All my sons will soon, I hope, be in America, and I shall probably follow them. In all events I am, dear Sir, yours sincerely.*

TO REV. W. TURNER.†

DEAR SIR,

Clapton, June 13, 1793.

ANY memorial of our past friendship would give me a peculiar satisfaction, as there are few things in the course of my life that I reflect upon with more pleasure; but the present of a volume of your sermons,‡ which I have just received, is doubly acceptable to me, as they present to me the traces of your mind and excellent disposition, which always charmed your friends. These, I perceive, are of a *practical* nature, and I doubt not I shall find them excellent; but I hope we shall be favoured with another volume at least, of a *critical* nature, in which you particularly excelled. They were your valuable criticisms that gave occasion to the “Theological Repository,”§ to which your papers gave a distinguished value.

My fate has been very various since I was in your neighbourhood, and is likely to be more various still. All my sons are going to America, and if they get well settled, I shall probably follow them, but I do not wish to do it soon, as my situation here is very agreeable to me; but such is the increasing bigotry of the high-church party in this country, so justly and so kindly, with respect to myself, lamented by you, and such are the difficulties that I fear this country will be involved in, that such persons as I am may be glad to get out of it, and happily there is a country that can afford us an asylum. If this fail there is another, in which I shall hope to meet you and all my Christian friends, to be separated from them no more. With this hope I remain, my dear friend, yours most affectionately.||

* *Orig.* MS.

† Wakefield.

‡ “On various Subjects, published at the request of a Congregation of Protestant Dissenters in Wakefield. By W. Turner.” *Adv.*

§ See I. 71.

|| *Orig.* MS.

TO MR. RUSSELL.*

DEAR SIR,

Clapton, June 17, 1793.

I AM much affected with the perusal of your letter, as it shews the state of your mind to be less happy than I wish it to be, and as it has revived some ideas that, though accompanied with useful reflections, are rather painful. I was indeed singularly happy in my situation, and chiefly in consequence of your contributing so much to make it so; and my present situation, though I have many things to be thankful for in it, is far from being what Birmingham was, and chiefly for want of such a friend and leader in the congregation as you were. But this change with respect to you is much more to your disadvantage, and I sincerely feel for you and your amiable daughters. To advise, however, what to do, is impossible. No man can judge for another in such a case as this, and least of all can I, who am undetermined how to act myself.

Had I been unsettled, as I was when I left Birmingham, such is the aspect of things at present, that I should not stay in the country; but having a settlement, and a sphere of employment, I do not think it advisable to abandon it till my sons be settled in America, when I hope to end my days with them. It is very possible, however, as the aspect of things is getting continually worse, as far at least as it concerns me, that I may be glad to remove even the next year, though I do not wish to go so soon. If I should go, your daughters should not want a home or protector in that country, while I could find one myself. Were I in your case, I think I should not decline the offer you mention, as in case of a wish to remove, it would not be difficult to disengage yourself. Once, indeed, I had flattered myself that I should have had the happiness of seeing you near me, and still will not give up the idea of seeing you and your daughters sometimes. If you have no objection, I shall pay you a short visit soon, though I had rather see you here. I find I cannot go to Heath.

* Birmingham.

P. S. When are we to recover our compensation for damages in the riots?*

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.†

DEAR FRIEND,

Wooton, ‡ July 24, 1793.

HOPING this may find you at Mr. Reynolds's, I direct thither, as I am not quite sure, from the note you gave me, that you will be at York before the beginning of the next month.

I hope you have been as happy at Paxton as I have been at Wooton, where I ride out every day, and do not find one unpleasant circumstance. On the contrary, there seems to be a degree of liberality in this place that I should not have expected to find in any other part of the kingdom. On Sunday the meeting-house was crowded; and among other persons of note were the Mayor and his son, who afterwards drank tea at Mr. Chandler's, where I was, and Mr. Pitt, the member of Parliament, who that evening came to Mr. Russell's, and gave me a general invitation to dine with him, &c. Mr. Russell also meets with every mark of respect from all ranks of people, not excepting the clergy, one of whom dined here since I came.

I have employed myself every morning in enlarging my answer to Mr. Evanson,§ and writing a long and serious preface, which I hope you will not dislike. I have other additions to make, occasioned by another perusal of the work, and, on the whole, think that my answer will be nearly as large as his book. I can hardly repress my indignation at the contemptuous manner in which he treats the books of the New Testament,|| but I hope you will not have much fault to find with me on this account.

* *Orig.* MS.

† "At Richard Reynolds', Esq., Paxton, Hunts," forwarded to "Mrs. Blackburne's, Richmond, Yorkshire."

‡ Mr. Russell's, Gloucester.

§ His "Dissonance of the Four generally-received Evangelists, and the Evidence of their respective Authenticity examined, 1792."

|| See W. XX. 352—356.

I leave this place on Friday, having heard that Joseph will be the next day at Clapton, ready to embark with Mr. Cooper from London, in about a fortnight.

As far as I can learn, there are few people who approve of the war in this part of the country. I have seen two clergymen who condemn it much; and one of them, in giving me an account of Mr. Frend's trial, approved of the proceedings against him. He has sent me the printed trial; and I think the Vice-Chancellor's speech will operate in favour of free inquiry; for when is the time to inquire, if not at the University? To say that they should not meddle with religious controversy there, is to say they must not engage in it at all.* This, I should think, must strike every body.

* The Vice-Chancellor was Dr. Milner, President of Queen's College and Dean of Carlisle. At the conclusion of his speech he "addressed the junior part of the University," whom he thus advised:

"Beware of entering into religious controversies at this period of your lives. Frequent the service of God, according to the established forms. At present take it for granted that our forefathers had some good reason for steadily adhering to and supporting these venerable institutions. It has not been my way to take things for granted, but it is not your time to become parties in controversial matters of religion."

On "it has not been my way to take things for granted," Mr. Frend asks, "Has not Dr. Milner subscribed the Thirty-nine Articles; and is there a man in the University who supposes that he ever gave himself the trouble of investigating them; and would not he himself be offended with any one who should assert that he believed them?"

See "An Account of the Proceedings in the University of Cambridge against William Frend, M. A., Fellow of Jesus College, for publishing a pamphlet entitled Peace and Union," (1793,) p. 186.

Dr. Milner's *prudent* advice to the juniors of *his* University "in divinity to keep the road, and to follow the great wheel of the church," (the resolution of Sir Thomas Browne,) had been shrewdly proposed, in 1721, "to all gentlemen schoolboys who are designed for the University of Oxford," thus:

"Your only safe way is to carry along with you consciences *chartes blanches*, ready to receive any impression that you please to stamp upon them. Never, therefore, explain your opinions, but let your declarations be that you are Churchmen, and that you believe as the Church believes. For instance, you have subscribed the Thirty-nine Articles, but never venture to explain the sense in which you subscribed them, because there are various senses, so many indeed that scarce two men understand them in the same. Suppress, as much as possible, that busy spirit of curiosity, which too often fatally exerts itself in youthful breasts; but if (notwithstanding all

Give my particular respects to Mr. Reynolds, and also to Mr. and Mrs. Cappe, when you get to York, and to Mrs. Blackburne at Richmond. I am anxious to hear of Mr. Lee, but fear you will hardly find him alive.* If you do, remember me kindly to him. Direct to me at Clapton, where I shall be some time perhaps printing my work, though I shall like to make an excursion afterwards.

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND,

Clapton, Aug. 5, 1793.

I HOPE that by this time you have received the letter I wrote to you from Gloucester,† though you had not when you wrote yours.

If you feel *a void*, I feel a greater. I have no satisfaction in going to town now. It seems quite empty since you are not there, and it gives me some idea how I should feel in case of your death. Mr. Belsham's society is some relief to me, but he feels much as I do, and to-morrow he goes to Bedford.

I am now, however, a great deal occupied about the departure of my sons for America. Mr. Cooper goes with them, and Mr. Walker, who has not yet left London, will follow. I cannot express how much I feel for him. If he should go to Manchester he is threatened with being arrested, and sent literally in irons to Lancaster, with every insult. He has, therefore, after signifying his intention to go thither, now sent word that he will appear at Lancaster, to answer any charges they can have against him. There appears to be a determination to ruin him, and thereby break the spirit of the friends of reform at Manchester.‡

Mr. Belsham has a letter from Mr. Kenrick, giving an ac-

your non-inquisitiveness) the strong beams of truth will break in upon your minds, let them shine inwardly; disturb not the public peace with your private discoveries and illuminations; no, if you have any concern for your welfare and prosperity, let Aristotle be your guide absolute in philosophy, and Athanasius in religion." *Terræ-Filius* (1754), pp. 167, 168.

* He died soon after. See *infra*.

† See *supra*, p. 203.

‡ See *supra*, pp. 125, 198.

count of the trial of Mr. Winterbotham for seditious expressions in two sermons. He was found guilty, in both cases, on the evidence of two very illiterate persons, against the testimony of a great number of his respectable hearers, that he had not used any such language as was ascribed to him.* This is indeed alarming, and calls for the interference of the Dissenters as a body. Mr. Cook, of Cambridge,† has also been convicted, on the evidence of the most infamous persons, of seditious words spoken three years ago. There was nothing worse than this in the reigns of the Stuarts.

Mr. Russell is now here, and inclines to go to America, notwithstanding his present very agreeable situation at Gloucester. I think I shall be drawn into the vortex, though not immediately. My principal objection is leaving you behind. I do think I could do more good there than I can here; but I shall at all events wait the report of my sons.

I began to print my Reply to Mr. Evanson‡ last Wednesday. Mr. Dodson was here yesterday, and still wonderfully struck with Mr. E.'s work,§ though I think Mr. Belsham and I staggered him a little. I wish I could convey a copy of my reply before you return.

P.S. My respects to Mrs. Blackburne and Frank, and my friends in general, if you meet with any such. ||

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND,

Clapton, Aug. 23, 1793.

I AM happy in the thought of so much of your absence from London being expired, though I hope you enjoy that absence, and on this account I enjoy it too. Mr. Belsham is also on a journey, and I imagine you will return about the same time.

We are much alarmed with the apprehension of a war with America. It is the opinion of most, that this event, disastrous

* See W. XV. 530, 531.

† Who emigrated to America, where he obtained a doctor's degree, and when he visited England a few years since, he held an appointment of chaplain in the navy of the United States.

‡ See *supra*, p. 203.

§ See W. XX. 358, *note*.

|| *Orig. MS.*

as it must be, will take place, and on this account Joseph's wife has determined to go with him. I hope a good Providence will attend them.

Every thing I see or hear inclines me more to think of following my sons, if they should find a desirable situation for me, though, considering my age, I am not much concerned about it, provided *they* be out of this country, and do well elsewhere.

I have had a good deal of communication with Mr. Dodson relating to my answer to Mr. Evanson, whose part he is, in many respects, still inclined to take. I have on this account made an appendix to my work, which however does not entirely satisfy him. He is persuaded that Paul, in two passages, refers to a *written* gospel, and that this was the gospel of Luke; but to me this appears highly improbable.*

TO MR. J. GOUGH.†

SIR,

Clapton, Aug. 25, 1793.

I WAS highly gratified by the account you was so good as to transmit to me of the favourable manner in which the news of the Revolution in France was received in America, especially as at *that* time there were doubts entertained on the subject. That many viewed it in an unfavourable light, with you I have no doubt; but that a revolution so nearly resembling your own should not be thought a joyful event by the Americans in general, I could not be brought to believe. Your letter made me quite easy on the subject, and enabled me to satisfy my friends.

Since that time there have been more revolutions, as they may be called, in France; all, however, I am willing to think, favourable to liberty and happiness, though at the time I and all my friends were disposed to forebode ill, as our particular friends were the sufferers. The last constitution seems now to give universal satisfaction, the insurrection seems to be nearly

* *Orig.* MS.

† Savannah.

suppressed, and as to their foreign enemies they make light of them; indeed, they have only served to rouse and unite them.

We have been alarmed with the apprehension of a war with America, but I hope there will be wisdom on your side of the water, though little I fear on ours, to prevent it. Both countries must be materially injured by the event, and neither of them could be a gainer.

I send this by my sons, who are going to find a settlement in your country, all I have, (three,) and then I shall expect to follow soon. I cannot give you an idea of the violence with which every friend to liberty is prosecuted in this country. Little of the liberty of the press on political subjects is now left, and the country goes heartily with the court into all their measures, so that nothing but general calamity, which I fear is approaching, will open their eyes. The source of all this evil is want of knowledge in the lower, and some, not of the lower, orders of the people. The French are wisely providing against this evil by a system of public instruction. Here, even Sunday-schools begin to be reprobated, as making the common people too knowing.*

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.

DEAR FRIEND,

Clapton, Sept. 7, 1793.

I AM glad to hear, by your letter received yesterday, that you and Mrs. Lindsey are well, and enjoy your excursion so much; but I am more particularly pleased to find that you are now moving towards London, which to me seems empty without you. Yesterday, however, Mr. Belsham returned, so that I am better off than I have been.

I cannot say that I have any distinct recollection of Mr. Logan. However, please to give my respects to him. I must esteem every body that receives you.

I have not failed to send a copy of my book to the Duke,† and I think I directed Johnson to send one to Mr. Shore.‡ Either

* *Europ. Mag.* (1794,) XXV. 368.

† Of Grafton.

‡ See I. 61, *note* †.

with him or with the duke you will be sure to see it. I consulted with Dr. Blackburne about sending you a copy, but he could not hit upon any plan that was feasible.

At Leeds you will probably find our old acquaintance, Dr. Dawson. Mrs. Dawson has just called, and says that he is there. He seems carefully to keep out of my way;* and he will not, I should suppose, be very fond of coming in yours. How strangely, interest and other motives warp men! But without these things, which try men, it would not be known what we were.

We have just heard from the voyagers, who, in the late stormy weather, the wind being against them, have been off Portsmouth, and we suppose they are there still, as the wind continues in the same point. They were all very well, and in good spirits.

I have received a ring, on account of Mr. Lee's funeral,† and intend to write to the widow.

I have advice that the money to be paid on account of the riots will be delivered to the sufferers this week.

* See I. 167, 168. Dr. Dawson had been more in accordance with Dr. Priestley, when publishing, in 1783, "The Necessitarian, or the Question concerning Liberty and Necessity stated, in Nineteen Letters." A reviewer remarks,

"Dr. Dawson hath particularly exposed the fallacy of the common objections to Necessity, drawn from a supposition of its being inconsistent with merit, and hath, we think, fully established his proposition, that the will is always impelled by *motives*, and that it is the *quality* of an act that constitutes the ground of merit or demerit, from whence arises a consciousness of acting well or ill, the approbation or disapprobation of our own minds.

"He hath not availed himself of the argument drawn from the doctrine of the Divine decrees, which, from a hint in the preface, we had some expectation of." *Mon. Rev.* LXVIII. 388.

† See *supra*, p. 205; I. 86, note *. Mr. Lee died Aug. 5. See his epitaph, in Staindrop Church, Durham. *Gent. Mag.* LXVIII. 276. In a letter to Mr. Lindsey, dated Jan. 1793, he says,

"Though my bodily pain exceeds any thing of the kind I ever endured, and makes me almost totally unable to sleep without opiates, yet I steal a few minutes of comparative ease to thank you for your very pretty book of Paley's, which I like very much. The baseness of Fox's deserters excites my indignation. If God give me health to travel, I hope I shall not desert my old corps." *Orig. MS.* See I. 18, *ad fin.*

Mr. Walker, of Manchester, is in town, and about to publish a pamphlet respecting the charges against him.* The stocks fall, and the war is more and more unpopular.

My wife, who is more bent on going to America than myself, joins in remembrances to you.†

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE LUNAR SOCIETY.‡

MY VALUED FRIENDS, *Clapton, Nov. 16, 1793.*

THERE are few things I more regret, in consequence of my removal from Birmingham, than the loss of your society. It both encouraged and enlightened me; so that what I did there of a philosophical kind, ought in justice to be attributed almost as much to you as to myself. From our cheerful meetings I never absented myself voluntarily, and from my pleasing recollection they will never be absent. Should the cause of our separation make it necessary or expedient for me to remove to a still greater distance from you, I shall only think the more, and with the more regret, of our past interviews.

* See *supra*, p. 205. The sequel of this political persecution, one of the many which distinguished William Pitt's "reign of terror," is thus recorded:

"On Wednesday last came on, at Lancaster assizes, the trial of Thomas Walker, Esq., of Manchester, and nine other persons, for seditious practices, in arming men, and providing ammunition, in order to assist the enemies of Great Britain. After a trial of six hours, they were most honourably acquitted.

"The principal witness was committed by the court, for perjury, he not only prevaricating in the course of his examination, but it being proved that he had previously acknowledged that he had been hired and bribed to give evidence against Mr. Walker." *Oracle*, Monday, April 7, 1794.

See "A Review of some of the Political Events which have occurred in Manchester during the last Five Years, being a Sequel to the Trial of Thomas Walker and others for a Conspiracy to overthrow the Constitution and Government of this Country, and to aid and assist the French, being the King's Enemies. By Thomas Walker." *Lond. Chron.* (Jan. 1795), LXXVII. 36.

† *Orig. MS.*

‡ "Matt. Boulton, James Watt, James Keir, Esqrs., Dr. Withering, Samuel Galton, jun. Esq., and the Rev. R. A. Johnson, Fellows of the Royal Society." See I. 339.

"We had nothing to do with the *religious* or *political* principles of each other. We were united by a common love of *science*, which we thought sufficient to bring together persons of all distinctions, Christians, Jews, Mahometans, and Heathens, Monarchists and Republicans."

It is now more than two years that I have been deprived of your society, and that I have been under the disagreeable necessity of intermitting my philosophical pursuits. With the assistance of my friends I have now resumed them, and it is with particular satisfaction that I dedicate the first fruits of my labours* to you.

You are no strangers to the ostensible causes of those disgraceful riots which drove me from your neighbourhood, and you know my perfect innocence with respect to them. Had I really been what the populace, who demolished my library and apparatus, my house and every thing belonging to me, were taught to believe, viz. a fomentor of sedition, and an enemy to the peace and constitution of my country, symptoms of it must have been perceived in our frequent interviews. But you know that neither politics nor religion were ever the subjects of our conversations. Philosophy engrossed us wholly.

Politicians may think there are no objects of any consequence besides those which immediately interest *them*; but objects far superior to any of which they have an idea engaged our attention, and the discussion of them was accompanied with a satisfaction to which they are strangers. Happy would it be for the world if their pursuits were as tranquil, and their projects as innocent and as friendly to the best interests of mankind, as ours. It is, however, a noble consideration, that the order and final happiness of the universe will not be interrupted by any thing that they can devise or do, while there is one Infinite Mind superintending all things, and bringing good out of, and by means of, all the evil that they can contrive or produce.

In the character of a minister of religion I never appeared with *you*, but as such (now that I am perhaps taking my final leave of you) permit me, though in religious persuasion differing from you all, to commit you to the protection and blessing of that great Being, *whose we are, and whom, I trust, we all*

* "Experiments on the Generation of Air from Water." See *supra*, p. 119.

serve, and who established that course of nature which is the object of our common investigation; and when we meet, as I doubt not we shall, in another state, may the meeting be most happy!

With the greatest esteem and affection, I am, my valued friends, sincerely yours.*

TO DR. PHILLIPS.

DEAR SIR,

Clapton, March 8, 1794.

I AM much affected with the generosity of my friends in your neighbourhood, and beg you would return them my warmest thanks for their kind benefaction.†

It is with sincere regret that I leave this country, especially after flattering myself that I was fixed for life; but all my sons are already in America, and their situation, together with the state of things here, make it expedient for me to go to them.

Our captain has fixed our departure for the 25th instant, but it will probably be about the beginning of April. However, I shall be ready in good time. I leave this country with every good wish, not only to my friends, but to my enemies; and hope that when prejudices are removed, we shall meet in a better state.‡

FROM THE UNITARIAN SOCIETY.§

REV. AND DEAR SIR,

London, March 18, 1794.

YOUR friends, the members of the Unitarian Society, address you upon the present interesting occasion, to express the regret with which they are penetrated at your approaching departure from this country, and their warmest wishes for your happiness in the place of your future destination.

* “Experiments,” &c., (*Dedication*,) p. iii.

† “A remittance of 30*l.*, raised by subscription, at the annual meeting of Protestant Dissenters of Suffolk, the majority, Calvinists.” M. R. XII, 389.

‡ *Ibid.*

§ This Address was written by Mr. Belsham, as appears from his *autograph* copy in my possession. I shall here preserve the passages omitted on its adoption by the Society.

So little as you have at any time interfered in national politics, it is but too obvious that the outrageous violence which you have experienced, and the atrocious calumnies which have been circulated with such unexampled industry to injure your character, and to render your residence in your native country unpleasant, and even unsafe, are entirely owing to that manly spirit with which you have avowed and defended what you *firmly* believed to be the pure and rational doctrines of the gospel, and to that truly Christian zeal with which you have entered your protest against those prevailing errors by which the religion of Jesus has been corrupted and debased.*

But you, Sir, have instructed us, both by your doctrine and example, to refer events to a higher cause, and while we regard with pity the conduct of men who, under the cover of religious zeal, are gratifying their own perverse passions, we also view them as instruments, under the direction of a superior Power, for the accomplishment of purposes the most distant from their own intentions, and we bow with humble acquiescence to the all-wise, disposing will of Heaven. The history of the Christian church from its first origin, through the revolutions of successive ages, has taught us this lesson, that it is the order of Providence that religious truth should be promulgated and confirmed by the sufferings of its most enlightened and most zealous advocates. In this part of the world you, Sir, have kindled a resplendent light, which no length of time, nor violence of opposition, will be able to extinguish; and you have been honoured as the instrument of diffusing religious knowledge beyond almost any individual in later ages. We anticipate, therefore, with pleasing hope, the extensive success of your future labours in America. Favoured as we have been with your rising and your meridian lustre, we ought not to envy our brethren in the Western continent the benefit of your evening ray.

* “ And against those antichristian hierarchies and civil establishments of religion by which these corruptions have been in all ages supported, the cause of truth oppressed, and the meek and benevolent religion of the gospel converted into an engine of sacerdotal tyranny and political oppression.”
MS.

Hitherto, Sir, you have been our pattern in every meritorious exertion in the investigation of religious truth, in every thing open and courageous in the profession of it; and when you are removed to a distant region, we trust that you will occasionally hear that your illustrious example has not been so long exhibited before us in vain. We shall think it our duty upon every proper occasion, and at all hazards, to avow our attachment to the genuine truths of the Christian religion;* and if in the discharge of this duty we should be exposed even to severer persecutions than those which you have encountered,† we hope that our conduct will not disgrace the honourable cause in which we suffer.‡

We, Sir, rejoice with you in the assurance of the ultimate triumph of the kingdom of God and of Christ, and of the universal dominion of truth and virtue, of order, liberty, and peace. And though we deplore the probable distresses of the intervening period, we are happy in the persuasion that Infinite Wisdom will direct and controul the storm,§ and that all the intermediate calamities will be as an evanescent point in comparison with that glorious and happy state of things of which they are the necessary means, and to which they ultimately tend.

In the meantime, we shall regard it as our indispensable duty to prepare ourselves and others for these interesting events, not only by the zealous propagation of what we judge to be important truth, by every fair and honourable method,|| but likewise by exemplifying in our whole conduct the tendency of the principles of the Christian religion, when properly un-

* “And, fearless of all personal consequences, to persist in our public protest against popular and long-established errors.” MS.

† “Though it does not become us to boast of untried fortitude.” *Ibid.*

‡ “We view with awful expectation the progress of those events which, by accelerating the overthrow of antichristian establishments of religion, are preparing the way for the universal acceptance of rational and pure Christianity, and for its establishment, where alone it ought to be established, in the hearts of men.” *Ibid.*

§ “That no truly virtuous person shall be finally a sufferer.” *Ibid.*

|| “And especially by the distribution of religious books, which is the proper object of our association.” *Ibid.*

derstood, to form the human mind to that strength and elevation of character in which the true dignity of our nature consists, and by which we may most effectually put to shame the calumnies of malignity, the prejudices of ignorance, and the scoffs of infidelity.

That your voyage may be prosperous, that your future lot may be happy beyond the most sanguine expectations of your warmest friends, and that your sphere of usefulness may be widely extended and prolonged to the most distant period of human exertion, is the ardent wish and fervent prayer of, Rev. and dear Sir, your affectionate friends,* the members of the Unitarian Society.†

FROM THE UNITED CONGREGATIONS OF PROTESTANT
DISSENTERS.

DEAR SIR,

Birmingham, March 25, 1794.

KNOWING the near approach of your departure from this country, we cannot but think we should be guilty of a culpable neglect did we not previously bid you an affectionate farewell.

We have beheld, with mingled indignation and regret, that spirit of persecution which kindled the flames of ninety-one, spreading through the realm its baneful influence, and pursuing into his retreat the friend and ornament of his country.

A spirit which was thought, in this country at least, to be for ever extinct, inspiring its barbarous violence into a lawless mob, drove you from this place, and broke those bonds which form the sacred connexion of a pastor with his flock.

Wanton in malice, the same spirit has continued to persecute you with private molestation, and with public calumny. The prostituted abilities of Mr. Burke have industriously seized each public occasion of exciting against you the public odium,‡

* “And brethren in the profession of faith in the proper unity of God, and the proper humanity of our common Master, Jesus Christ.” *Ibid.*

† “T. Lindsey, Chairman.” See “The Use of Christianity, especially in Difficult Times, delivered at the Gravel-Pit Meeting in Hackney, March 30, 1794, being the Author’s Farewell Discourse to his Congregation,” *Appendix*, p. 47. See W. XV. 552.

‡ See W. XV. 497, 499, 526, *note*; XXV. 398.

while the dark, assassinating spirit of anonymous abuse has been busy in the public prints, and found means to assail and wound the tranquillity of your most private retirements.

From a country where you have met with injustice instead of reward, with calumny and persecution instead of praise and esteem, we cannot wonder you should depart.

The hope that in America you will find that Asylum which is here denied you; the confidence that a free country will receive a veteran son of liberty with all the respect that is due to his worth; the belief that those who have fought and bled for their own rights, will reverence one who has been deprived of *his*; the certainty that the implacable enemies of liberty will never permit you in this country to enjoy repose; and the strong suspicion that they would gladly seize an opportunity to aim not only at your personal freedom, but at your life itself, reconcile us to the prospect of your departure, by demonstrating its necessity.

Wherever you go, renown will attend you. In England alone are you calumniated. In every other land each grateful science will crowd around, and offer a garland to him whose genius has enlarged their sphere, or added to their stability. Liberty will warmly welcome you to any of her dominions. Virtue and Religion will hail, with joyful smiles, the arrival of their intrepid champion, their ardent votary.

We have, on a former melancholy occasion, expressed our sense of the services you rendered us. We expressed less than we felt, and we again send you our thanks. While tyranny will rejoice, while bigotry and superstition will clap their hands at your departure, all that have been enlightened by your labours will give, in the tribute of a silent tear, more than those powers, with all their boasted influence, can bestow on their most favourite vassals.

Though *you* depart, your *labours* remain. The propagation of truth is silent and slow, but it is irresistible. The seed that you have strewn around will not lie buried in the earth for ever. It is arising, and it will arise, till it ripen into a glorious harvest.

To your talents, your integrity, and love of truth, we shall,

while we live, bear testimony. We rejoice that of these no enemy can deprive you; while it will afford consolation to you to reflect that no virtuous effort you ever made can possibly be lost, it shall be some consolation to us that we have enjoyed, that we do still enjoy, so many of their effects.

Though the waters of a wide sea will soon roll between us, your example, your precepts, your principles, shall not be absent. These shall continue present in our minds, and shall inspire our conduct.

May He who curbs the ocean, who stills the wild winds and the tumultuous billows, grant you a prosperous passage, and safely land you on the shores of America!*

TO MR. BENJAMIN FLOWER.†

DEAR SIR,

Clapton, March 26, 1794.

I AM concerned to find by your last *Intelligencer* that some person, willing to appear my friend, has ascribed to me a valuable improvement in the method of gilding, to which I have no pretension. It was practised long before I went to Birmingham, and I believe belongs to Mr. Boulton. Of him, at least, I first heard of it. By rectifying this mistake as soon as possible, you will oblige, dear Sir, yours sincerely.

* “Signed, by the unanimous desire of a numerous meeting of subscribers belonging to the two societies of Protestant Dissenters assembling in the Union Chapel, Livery Street—Radcliffe Scholefield, John Edwards.” *Ibid.* p. 51.

† Cambridge, with whom I enjoyed a long and intimate personal acquaintance till his decease, 1829, aged 74. See *M. R. N. S.*, III. 210; “Public Principle essential to the Excellence of Private Character; a Funeral Sermon on occasion of the Death of Mr. B. Flower. By W. J. Fox”

Among Mr. Flower’s various exertions as a public writer, to obtain “the greatest good of the greatest number,” may be now, especially, worthy of notice, his early advocacy of “election by ballot,” which, as he justly says, “strikes at the root of corruption,” while “bribery naturally ceases, because the means will not answer the end.” See “The French Constitution; with Remarks on some of its principal Articles, in which their Importance in a Political, Moral, and Religious point of view is illustrated, and the Necessity of a Reformation in Church and State in Great Britain enforced.” *Ed.* 2, (1792,) p. 163; *Examiner*, No. 1199, Jan. 23, 1831.

P. S. Give me leave to express the satisfaction I weekly receive from the temper and spirit of your paper, from which it may be hoped that much good will accrue to this country.

FROM THE SOCIETY OF UNITED IRISHMEN.

SIR,

Dublin, March 28, 1794.

SUFFER a society which has been calumniated as devoid of all sense of religion, law, or morality, to sympathize with one whom calumny of a similar kind is about to drive from his native land, a land which he has adorned and enlightened in almost every branch of liberal literature, and of useful philosophy. The emigration of Dr. Priestley will form a striking historical fact, by which alone future ages will learn to estimate truly the temper of the present times. Your departure will not only give evidence of the injury which philosophy and literature have received in your person, but will prove the accumulation of petty disquietudes which has robbed your life of its zest and enjoyment; for, at your age, no one would willingly embark on such a voyage; and sure we are, it was your own wish and prayer to be buried in your native country, which contains the dust of your old friends, Saville, Price, Jebb, and Fothergill. But be cheerful, dear Sir; you are going to a happier world, the world of Washington and Franklin.

In idea we accompany you. We stand near you, while you are setting sail. We watch your eyes that linger on the white cliffs, and we hear the patriarchal blessing which your soul pours out on the land of your nativity, the aspiration that ascends to God, for its peace, its freedom, and its prosperity. Again do we participate in your feelings on first beholding nature in her noblest scenes and grandest features, on finding man busied in rendering himself worthy of nature; but, more than all, on contemplating, with philosophic prescience, the coming period, when those vast inland seas shall be shadowed with sails; when the St. Lawrence and Mississipi shall stretch forth their arms to embrace the Continent in a great circle of

interior navigation; when the Pacific Ocean shall pour into the Atlantic; when *man* will become more precious than fine gold, and when his ambition shall be to subdue the elements, not to subjugate his fellow-creatures; to make fire, water, earth, and air, obey his bidding, but to leave the pure ethereal mind, as the sole thing in nature free and incoercible.

Happy indeed would it be, were men in power to recollect this quality of the human mind. Suffer us to give them an example from a science of which you are a mighty master; that attempts to fix the element of mind only increase its activity, and that to calculate what may be from what has been is a very dangerous deceit. Were all the saltpetre in India monopolized, this would only make chemical researches more ardent and successful. The chalky earths would be searched for it, and nitre-beds would be made in every cellar and every stable. Did not that prove sufficient, the genius of chemistry would find in a new salt a substitute for nitre, or a power superior to it.* It requires greater genius than Mr. Pitt seems to possess, to know the wonderful resources of mind, when patriotism animates philosophy, and all the arts and sciences are put under a state of requisition; when the attention of a whole scientific people is bent to multiplying the means and instruments of destruction; and when philosophy rises in a mass to drive on the wedge of war. A black powder has changed the military art, and in a great degree the manners of mankind. Why may not the same science which produced it produce another powder, which, inflamed under a certain compression, might impel the air, so as to shake down the strongest towers, and scatter destruction?

But you are going to a country where science is turned to better uses. Your change of place will give room for the matchless activity of your genius; and you will take a sublime pleasure in bestowing on Britain the benefit of your future discoveries. As matter changes its form, but not a particle is

* "M. Bertholet discovered that oxygenated muriated gas, received in a ley of caustic pot-ash, forms a crystalizable neutral salt, which detonates more strongly than nitre."

ever lost, so the principles of virtuous minds are equally imperishable; and your change of situation may even render *truth* more operative, *knowledge* more productive, and in the event, *liberty* itself more universal. Wafted by the winds, or tossed by the waves, the seed that is *here* thrown out as dead, *there* shoots up and flourishes. It is probable that emigration to America, from the first settlement downward, has not only served the cause of general liberty, but will eventually and circuitously serve it, even in Britain. What mighty events have arisen from that *germ*, which might once have been supposed to be lost for ever in the woods of America, but, thrown upon the bosom of nature, the breath of God revived it, and the world hath gathered its fruits!

Even Ireland has contributed her share to the liberties of America; and while purblind statesmen were happy to get rid of the stubborn Presbyterians of the north, they little thought that they were serving a good cause in another quarter. Yes, the volunteers of Ireland still live; they live across the Atlantic. Let this idea animate us in our sufferings; and may the pure principles and genuine lustre of the British constitution, reflected from *their coasts*, penetrate into *our cells* and *our dungeons*.

Farewell, great and good man! great by your mental powers, by your multiplied literary labours, but still greater by those household virtues which form the only solid security for public conduct, by those mild and gentle qualities which, far from being averse to, are most frequently attended with severe and inflexible patriotism, rising like an oak above a modest mansion. Farewell; but before you go, we beseech a portion of your parting prayer to the Author of good for Archibald Hamilton Rowan, the pupil of Jebb,* our brother, now suffering imprisonment,† and for all those who have suffered, and are about to suffer, in the same cause; the cause of impartial and

* At Cambridge.

† "For two years," according to the sentence, Feb. 7, with "a fine of 500*l*." He had been convicted, Jan. 30, of signing, "as secretary," and "publishing, an Address from the United Irishmen of Dublin to the Volunteers of Ireland." *N. A. Reg.* XV. (6—9.)

adequate representation, the cause of the constitution. Pray to the best of Beings for Muir,* Palmer,† Skirving, Margarott, and Gerald,‡ who are now, or will shortly be, crossing, like you, the bleak ocean, but to a barbarous land! Pray that they may be animated with the same spirit which, in the days of their fathers, triumphed at the stake, and shone in the

* Against whom, as stated by Mr. Adam, in the House of Commons, (March 10, 1794,) "it was proved that he had recommended 'Flower on the Constitution of France,' and had uttered some expressions about reforming the abuses in the courts of law and judiciary." *N. A. Reg.* XV. 33.

† See *Pref.* to Fast Sermon, Feb. 28. W. XV. 530. The last letter I received from Mr. Palmer, while in England, is dated "Feb. 10, 1794," from the prison-hulk. He says,

"Muir, Skirving, and Margarott, and sheriff's officer, handcuffed, two and two, were put on board the Surprise last night. I go to-morrow.

"Farewell! *We* may be starved, and *you* may fall by the civil sword; but should we meet, it will be with a pleasure we can scarcely conceive. In this hope I live. If disappointed, the happiness I wish to be partaker of myself, I have the satisfaction to trust will be the lot of millions, I mean the blessings of equal laws, equal rights." *Orig.* MS.

The "sheriff's officer," (Grant,) having been convicted of forgery in Scotland, his sentence of death had been commuted for transportation, by the favour, as was understood, of Dundas (Lord Melville). I have met at the captain's table, when dining with Mr Palmer, aboard the prison-hulk, that plausible gentleman, Mr. Grant, who, as well as the captain of the hulk, was probably obeying the directions of the higher powers, when tempting their companions to some indiscretion, by proposing toasts the most uncourtly, and daringly democratic. But a man must have been weak indeed, not to have kept "the door of his lips" in such society.

I had before observed symptoms of this state-craft, so becoming the ministerial artifice of Pitt and Dundas, on my first visit to Mr. Muir in another prison-hulk, accompanied by that accomplished, but too soon lost, learned advocate of freedom, Felix Vaughan. We there met Mr. Godwin, who had lately presented to Mr. Muir his Political Justice, and whom the captain of the hulk somewhat broadly complimented, by the information that his mate was so fond of the work, that he would scarcely suffer the volumes to go out of his possession.

Mr. Palmer, as I have mentioned, (W. II. 273; XIV. 417, *notes*.) died in 1801, at Golam, one of the Ladrones, where he had been shipwrecked; and imprisoned by the Spaniards, on his return from exile.

A deserved tribute of respect to Mr. Palmer's memory was very lately offered by his nephew, the present M. P. for Berks, on a public occasion. See "Christian Reformer," XVIII. p. 5.

‡ Who had been one of Dr. Parr's favourite pupils. He died in New South Wales, soon after his arrival.

midst of flames! Melancholy, indeed, it is, that the mildest and most humane of all religions should have been so perverted, as to hang or burn men in order to keep them of one faith.

It is equally melancholy, that the most deservedly extolled of civil constitutions should recur to similar modes of coercion, and that hanging and burning are not now employed, principally because measures, apparently milder, are considered as more effectual. Farewell! Soon may you embrace your sons on the American shore, and Washington take you by the hand, and the shade of Franklin look down with calm delight on the first statesman of the age extending his protection to its first philosopher.*

TO THE STUDENTS AT THE NEW COLLEGE IN HACKNEY.

GENTLEMEN,

Clapton, March 30, 1794.

YOUR affectionate address has given me much pleasure; and I can assure you that the satisfaction you have received from my lectures, has not exceeded that with which they were delivered, and the discontinuance of them adds much to the regret with which I leave this country. I have seldom spent any time more agreeably to myself than in my Tuesday's lectures on History, or my Saturday ones on Experimental Philosophy. But this will be far short of the satisfaction I shall receive from hearing that your characters and conduct in life correspond to the advantages you enjoy in your education, in hearing that you are virtuous and intelligent men, the friends of religion and public liberty, an honour to your tutors, and a blessing to your friends and the world. With every good wish, I am, gentlemen, your affectionate tutor.†

The period has now arrived, of which, while the powers of memory shall remain, I cannot cease to indulge

* *Single Leaf*, circulated by the "Society for Constitutional Information." Republished by *Peter Porcupine*, (Mr. Cobbett,) "Philadelphia, 1794," and in "*Porcupine's Works*," (1801,) I. 121.

† *Orig. MS.*

very interesting recollections. Mr. Belsham, in the biography of their common friend, has afforded me the following valuable assistance towards describing the last days of Dr. Priestley, in England, ere he retired from his native land, for ever, yet fondly anticipating some occasion of return ; *sed Deo aliter visum est.*

Though the venerable sufferer met with a few personal insults at his first settlement at Clapton from some of the lowest of the rabble, that spirit had entirely subsided; and had he chosen to have remained at Hackney, it cannot be doubted that he would have lived in equal security and tranquillity with the rest of his fellow-citizens, admired, beloved, and revered, by a numerous, respectable, and continually increasing circle of hearers, pupils, and friends. But the high spirit of Dr. Priestley could not brook to hold his liberty and security upon what appeared to him to be so precarious a tenure; and he therefore resolved to seek an asylum in a country where, if civilization has not attained to so high a polish as in older countries, thoughts and words and consciences are free; and no restraint is laid upon freedom of inquiry, latitude of disquisition, or openness of profession, upon the most important subjects of religion or politics. It was not, however, without much regret that this much-injured man bid adieu to his native country, nor without indulging the fond hope that he might eventually return and end his days in peace in the land which gave him birth.

On the 30th of March he delivered to a crowded auditory a farewell discourse from Acts xx. 32. The subject of it was the "Use of Christianity, especially in difficult times."*

* See W. XV. 552. I heard the previous sermon, delivered to a very crowded audience, attracted, especially, as on preceding Sundays, by the curiosity which the public prints had contributed to excite. Thus the

Oracle :

"March 5. Dr. Priestley. This gentleman, whose character and writings have excited so much attention and curiosity, not only in his own country, but throughout Europe, will this week embark for America.

"At present there seems little communication of a literary kind between

Having finished what he had to say to his regular audience, he closes his discourse with addressing a few hints of advice to the numerous strangers which thronged to hear him upon this interesting occasion. The introduction to this address is most judicious and conciliatory. The peroration is beautiful and appropriate, and strongly indicates the truly Christian spirit of the venerable fugitive. "Whether then you come as friends or as enemies, whether we shall ever see one another's faces again or not, may God, whose providence is over all, bless, preserve, and keep us! Above all, may we be preserved in the paths of virtue and piety, that we may have a happy meeting in that world where error and prejudice will be no more; where all the ground of the party distinctions which subsist here will be taken away; where every misunderstanding will be cleared up, and the reign of truth and of virtue will be for ever established!"

Such was the posture of mind, such the dignity of spirit, of this first of philosophers and of Christians, when taking leave of a country whose reputation he had extended, and to whose intellectual and moral improvement he had devoted his superior energies, but which, too little sensible of his pre-eminent worth, treated him with neglect, and refused redress to his cruel and unmerited injuries; and, if she did not banish from her shores the worthiest of her sons, at least denied him that protection which is granted to the meanest subject of her government, and which was essential to his security, and to

the two countries; and we are, in a manner, ignorant of the state of the arts and the productions of the press in America. The doctor, as a member of two learned societies in England, and connected with some of their most illustrious ornaments, will, it is to be hoped, establish a literary kind of treaty, and interchange the improvements in philosophy and art of the new world, in return for those of the old."

"March 14. Dr. Priestley preaches his last sermon, previous to his departure for Philadelphia, on Sunday next, at Hackney."

"March 17. Dr. Priestley retires to America, upon no political motives whatever. He has too much philosophy to regard with uneasiness now the political hurricane in which he was a sufferer. In America he will join a much-loved part of his family; and apart from all contest, civil or religious, wind up a useful life with the meekness of a Christian, and the meditations of a philosopher."

the peaceable and successful pursuit of his professional duties and his philosophical inquiries. But the spirit of Christianity carried him through all; and Dr. Priestley, in the possession of a good conscience, and in the exercise of the mild, forbearing, forgiving spirit of the gospel, was more truly happy in his mind, and more enviable in his exile, than the most violent of his enemies and persecutors on their couches of preferment, or their thrones of state.*

MY last interview with Dr. Priestley, two or three days before his embarkation, was in London, at the house of his friend, Mr. William Vaughan. He had, that morning, been highly gratified by the presentation of a handsome silver inkstand, on which I observed the following inscription :

TO JOSEPH PRIESTLEY, LL. D., &c., on his departure into exile, from a few Members of the University of Cambridge, who regret that this expression of their esteem should be occasioned by the ingratitude of their country.†

* *Mem. of Lindsey*, pp. 362, 363, 368, 372—375.

† Mr. Friend, when communicating to me, in 1818, the valuable letters which I have inserted, (*supra*, pp. 76, 81,) says,

“The inscription was drawn up by our friend Tweddell, who, with me, waited on the doctor to present it to him.”

Mr. Godfrey Higgins, distinguished by his late learned works on Oriental Antiquities, writing to me from “Skellow-Grange, Ferrybridge, May 4, 1818,” says,

“A few gentlemen of the University of Cambridge, of all ranks, justly indignant that this great philosopher and most amiable man should be banished his country by a Church-and-King mob, connived at, if not encouraged by, the Government of that day, subscribed to purchase a piece of plate, which was presented to him by William Friend, James Losh, the much injured and lamented Tweddell, and myself.

“I have forgotten the names of the subscribers; but besides the above, I recollect those of Edwards, LL. D., Sykes, Carrant, Grigby, Lister, Duval, Smith, and Northmore.

“Although I differ, and always differed, in opinion with this great man, both in philosophy and religion, I shall feel great pleasure if you think this anecdote deserving your notice. Perhaps it may be thought honourable to the philosopher; perhaps not dishonourable to the University.” *Orig. MS.*

With Mr. Losh I was acquainted in the society of “The Friends of the People.” With Mr. Tweddell, in a literary club formed in 1793, I had

Dr. Priestley, I well remember, read to me, at the same time, a pious and affectionate letter which he had just received from William Skirving, one of the victims of the ruthless Scottish law, who was then awaiting his deportation.* They were, personally, strangers, and their theological creeds were, probably, not a little dissimilar. But Mr. Skirving, who, as appeared from various passages in the letter, was a diligent investigator of the prophetic Scriptures,† had been strongly attracted to some of his correspondent's later speculations on that interesting subject.

The preceding evening I had passed with Dr. Priestley, on the invitation of our common friends at Hackney, once more to share his society, and to unite in the expressions of their affectionate farewell. Among those (a rapidly decreasing number) who still survive that parting, I am happy in the friendship and society of one who continues, and may he long continue, to interest and instruct the world. He has thus kindly favoured me with the recollection of his latest interview with Dr. Priestley :

promised myself a very agreeable and improving intercourse, too soon interrupted by his departure on his travels, from which he never returned. He died at Athens, in 1799, aged 30, and was buried in the Temple of Theseus. His *Remains* were published in 1815. See M. R. X. 612, 632. I have just read, in "the North American Review," (XXXIV. 93,) a saying of "Dr. Clarke, the traveller, that for the sake of Tweddell's society, he would have consented to black his shoes."

* To New South Wales, where he died, not long after his arrival. I had an interview with this much-injured patriot in Newgate, when paying a parting visit to Mr. Muir. Over the fire-place of the apartment was the engraved portrait of Dr. Price, an appropriate *genius loci*, wherever Thomas Muir had sojourned, whether in a prison or a palace.

† One of Mr. Skirving's letters, interspersed with scriptural allusions, was read by the prosecutors of Mr. Hardy, and drew from Lord Chief Justice Eyre the exclamation, "What does this mysterious man mean? What is this *tabernacle of righteousness*, to be erected at once, without anarchy and confusion?" *Trial of Hardy*, (1794,) IV. 426. Perhaps, after all, "Gallio cared for none of these things."

MY DEAR SIR,

St. James's Place, Feb. 25, 1832.

No man, as you say, could be more amiable in his family than Dr. Priestley, and he had his reward; for no man could be more beloved than he was there.

I have, all my life, received delight from the works of the great masters in painting; but no picture of theirs ever affected me half so much as a living one which I saw, a night or two before his departure from this country. The way in which his daughter hung over him, as he sat in his chair, I can never forget. Though it is now near forty years ago, it is as present to my mind as if it had been yesterday.

Ever sincerely yours,

SAMUEL ROGERS.

The following is probably the last letter Dr. Priestley wrote from Clapton. While thus bidding a final adieu to the “plants of his hand, and children of his care,” he could not fail to indulge his “ruling passion,” so often discovered in the foregoing pages, a desire to advance the most valuable interests of mankind by the religious instruction of the rising generation:

TO THE YOUNG PERSONS WHO ATTENDED THE LECTURES
AT THE GRAVEL-PIT MEETING, HACKNEY.

MY YOUNG FRIENDS,

Clapton, April 6, 1794.

THE satisfaction I have received from your affectionate address,* is only equalled by that which I have constantly enjoyed in my attendance upon you in our lecture room; and this arose from my perceiving the real improvement you made there, and the freedom of our conversations on subjects of such importance as were continually before us. They are such as are, indeed, most interesting to men, as rational and immortal beings. The proper object of them was religious knowledge,

* For which, see W. XV. 583.

but I am most happy to find you fully sensible that the end of all knowledge is practice, and the end of all religious knowledge, religious and virtuous practice; and that the benefit you have received yourselves, you are desirous of extending to others.

To the satisfaction I have received from your improvement in knowledge, I therefore trust will be added the much greater satisfaction that will occur to me from hearing of your good and exemplary conduct in life, which will secure our happy meeting in a state for which all instruction, and all the discipline of this life, are intended to form us.

Wherever I go, and whatever befalls me, such accounts as these will give me a pleasure of which nothing can deprive me.

Not doubting you will receive as much improvement and satisfaction from the lectures of my successor as you have done from mine, provided you give equal attention to them, I am, my young friends, your late affectionate pastor.*

At the conclusion of the passage which I lately quoted, Mr. Belsham says :

Sunday, April 6, Dr. Priestley passed with his friends in Essex Street, whose faces he was never more to behold again in this world. Dr. Toulmin that day preached for Dr. Disney, a judicious, seasonable, and affecting discourse, which made a very deep impression upon a respectable and numerous audience. The next day Dr. Priestley and his family went to Gravesend.†

* M. R. II. 397.

† *Mem. of Lindsey*, p. 375. The following paragraphs appeared in the *Oracle* :

“April 7. It is with infinite sorrow we announce the departure, for America, of the celebrated Dr. Priestley. He sailed from the river, accompanied by a vast number of emigrants, of all descriptions.”

“April 12. Dr. Priestley having now set sail for America, his very pathetic sermon, delivered to a most crowded congregation, at the Gravel-pit Meeting, Hackney, will be given in the *Sunday Reformer*.”

The regret of Mr. Lindsey, on this final separation from a friend, endeared to him by the most unreserved intercourse, amidst the various fortunes of five-and-twenty years, cannot easily be overrated. His present anxieties for his friend's personal safety were daily relieved by the following communications:

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.*

DEAR FRIEND,

Gravesend, April 7, 1794.

WE were rather unexpectedly summoned by the captain to be with him, here, at two o'clock in the afternoon yesterday, and hence we met him, and all the company, expecting to sail that evening. However, we are now actually about to take a boat, and go to the ship, which lies at the Hope, about six miles below this place.

We spent an agreeable evening, all things considered, Mr. Russell and Mr. Vaughan being of the party. The morning is fine, but the wind is still west. When we get to the Downs it is to be determined whether we go north, round Scotland, or through the Channel. The Pegou sails at the same time, and we hope to keep company.

Poor Sally is most affected, as Mr. Finch seems more determined than ever not to follow us; but she hopes that circumstances may arise that will change his resolution. However, that resolution will be governed by a will wiser than his or ours; and this is my greatest consolation, especially in parting with you and Mrs. Lindsey.

Trusting to Mr. Jones, who said he would take my thermometer to Gravesend himself, I shall be obliged to go without it. I wish, however, you would see him, and desire him to send it in Mr. Johnson's package, if it will bear that conveyance, or else give it to Mr. Vaughan, who will send it by some passenger to New York or Philadelphia.

Please to desire Mr. Johnson to send copies of my farewell sermon to both the Mr. Wilkinsons, and to any other persons

* Essex Street.

that you think I may have overlooked. Take also any number you please of any of my publications, and dispose of them as you think proper.

I shall write again from Deal, when the pilot leaves us. Yours and Mrs. Lindsey's most affectionately.

P. S. Give Mr. Russell copies of the two sermons and the volume.*

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND,

Deal, April 9, 1794.

THIS I hope will be the last time that I shall write to you from Old England. Yesterday we had a fair wind to carry us off Margate. We lay to, the greatest part of the night, when a fair wind sprung up to carry us, they say, within an hour of Deal, by half-past eight, which it now is. Most of the passengers yesterday were ill, my wife most of the day; and I did not wholly escape, though I am better than most of them. To-day we seem to be all pretty well, just ready for breakfast.

The cabin passengers are only nine, and promise to be sufficiently agreeable, though almost all unknown to each other. I have barely learned their names.

Mr. Lyon, who had but just time to speak to Mr. Russell on the subject of our purchase of land, desires to have one share with us, if the subscription be not full. He will be a valuable associate, on account of his being an excellent farmer.

Our captain has just informed us, that if he falls in with the fleet of merchantmen at Portsmouth, he will join them for the sake of the convoy: if so, I will write from that place.

With my best wishes and prayers for our re-union, here or hereafter, yours and Mrs. Lindsey's (in which my wife joins me) most affectionately.†

TO THE SAME.

Friday evening, off Falmouth.

DEAR FRIEND,

[*April 11, 1794.*]

WE came, in a very short time, opposite to the Start; but then, which was last night, the wind changed, and turned west,

* Orig. MS.

† Mem. of Lindsey, p. 377.

so that on this account, and likewise apprehending a storm from that quarter, we have just dropped anchor in Falmouth road, where we shall stay till to-morrow morning, and then sail or not, according as the wind shall be.

On Wednesday evening we had a strong gale, which continued all night, and part of the next day. This made all the passengers very sick, and my wife and myself among them. I could eat nothing till supper; but the next night was calm, and we rose recruited, and all this day have been in very good spirits, but much disappointed at not being able to proceed on our voyage, when we had got further in three days, than the captain says he got in three weeks and five days the last voyage.

We begin to be acquainted with all our cabin and many of the steerage passengers, and like them very well. They are all well-behaved, and good company. The only woman cabin passenger is come from France, knows our friends there, and seems well acquainted with the politics of the country.

On the whole, I think we shall pass our time pretty well during the voyage. I have much time for reading, and shall be able to write. I am meditating a discourse on the causes of infidelity, led to it by reflections on that of Mr. Cooper, and other intelligent men.

I think I shall nearly read my New Testament through, before I get to New York, and I think I read it with more satisfaction than ever. Unbelievers, I am confident, do not read it, except with a predisposition to cavil.

A person waits for our letters, and therefore I am, in haste, yours and Mrs. Lindsey's most affectionately.*

* *Orig. MS.* From Dr. Priestley's last communication, before his final adieu to Europe, I cannot withhold the notice of an extraordinary assertion, by one who ought to have been better informed, that "the Royal Society declined admitting him to their meetings, and that he was obliged to withdraw his name from its list of members." *Encyclopædia Edinensis*. By "Dr. Brewster," (1830,) XVII. 154.

The Royal Society of that day has been sufficiently discredited among philosophic associations by the unworthy distinction of having seen the emigration and the decease of Priestley without an expression of regret for the loss which science had sustained, or any grateful recollections of an illus-

Among the papers of the late Rev. Robert Edward Garnham, the intimate friend of Lindsey, and the occasional correspondent of Priestley,* were found the following lines :

The savage, slavish Britain now no more
Deserves this patriot's steps to print her shore.
Despots and leagues and armies overthrown,
France would exult to claim him for her own.
Yet no ! America, whose soul aspires
To warm her sons with Europe's brightest fires ;
Whose virtue, science, scorns a second prize,
Asks and obtains our *Priestley* from the skies.
Ye storms, ye monsters, which the seas contain,
Let him uninjured cross a placid main ;
For never did your gentler breasts engage
Passions so fell as sacerdotal rage.†

Mr. Coleridge, in his third *Effusion*, introduces the second William Pitt as "yon dark scowler," who had become "a foul apostate from his father's fame." In the fourth *Effusion*, he returns to the Premier as "that dark vizir," and thus appreciates the baneful influence of Church and State, which so largely contributed to this emigration :

Though rous'd by that dark Vizir, *Riot* rude
Have driv'n our *Priestley* o'er the ocean swell ;
Though *Superstition*, and her wolfish brood,
Bay his mild radiance, impotent and fell ;

trious associate. Yet Dr. Brewster's story is evidently a fiction ; and such a wrong as he has inadvertently supposed, even the church and the court, in their *unholy* alliance, could scarcely have perpetrated. On the contrary, Dr. Priestley's account of his latter relations with the Royal Society is well known to have been perfectly correct. See *supra*, p. 119.

See I. 403, *note*. Mr. Garnham died in 1802, aged 49. See a short Memoir by J. D., (Dr. Disney,) M. R. X. 13.

† To these lines are prefixed, "March 4, 1794, recovering from gout." At the end is the following Latin version :

In J. Priestleium, ad Americam Migraturum.

Hunc, quo serva ferox, indigna Britannia cive,
Gallia, devictis patriâ donare tyrannis,
Gestiit : Europæ tamen æmula America, ne quid

Calm in his halls of brightness he shall dwell ;
 For lo ! *Religion*, at his strong behest,
 Starts with mild anger from the Papal spell,
 And flings to earth her tinsel glittering vest,
 Her mitred state, and cumbrous pomp unholy ;
 And *Justice* wakes to bid th' oppressor wail
 Insulting aye the wrongs of patient Folly ;
 And from her dark retreat by Wisdom won,
 Meek *Nature* slowly lifts her matron veil
 To smile with fondness on her gazing son.

In his "Religious Musings, written on Christmas Eve, 1794," the justly admired author resumes the subject, and has thus afforded me an appropriate conclusion of the present chapter. Nor, indeed, could Priestley have been described more agreeably to himself, or in a manner more becoming the distinction which his talents and character had acquired, than as in the train of Hartley, and amidst such an assemblage.

The mighty dead
 Rise to new life, whoe'er from earliest time
 With conscious zeal had urg'd Love's wondrous plan,
 Coadjutors of God. To *Milton's* trump
 The odorous groves of earth, reparadis'd,
 Unbosom their glad echoes : inly hush'd,
 Adoring *Newton* his serener eye
 Raises to heaven : and he, of mortal kind
 Wisest, he first who mark'd the ideal tribes
 Down the fine fibres from the sentient brain
 Roll subtly surging. Pressing on his steps,
 Lo ! *Priestley* there, patriot, and saint, and sage,
 Whom that my fleshly eye hath never seen,
 A childish pang of impotent regret
 Hath thrill'd my heart. Him from his native land
 Statesmen, blood-stain'd, and priests idolatrous,
 By dark lies madd'ning the blind multitude,
 Drove with vain hate : calm, pitying he retir'd,
 And mus'd expectant on these promis'd years.*

Vinceret aut virtus nostra, aut sapientia, cælo
 Priestleium quæsit, et exoravit ab alto.
 At vos, o phocæ immanes, rabidæque procellæ,
 Faustum reddite iter. Tandem præcordia vestra
 Credere fas aliena sacerdotalibus ausis.

* See "Poems on Various Subjects. By S. T. Coleridge, late of Jesus' College, Cambridge. London, 1796," pp. 164, 165.

CHAPTER III.

(1794, 1795.)

MR. WILLIAM ALLUM, writing from "New York, June 6, 1794," to his friend, the late Rev. William Richards, of Lynn, says,

Your two letters were handed to me yesterday, and the day before (the 4th) I had the high satisfaction of bringing Dr. Priestley on shore.* He landed about five o'clock in the afternoon, and is received with a fervour of affection which no king ever yet received, much less deserved.

* "June 1. The Sansom, the ship in which Dr. Priestley embarked from England, arrived at Sandy-Hook, where she waited for a pilot. Dr. and Mrs. Priestley landed (the 4th) at the battery, in as private a manner as possible, and went immediately to a lodging-house close by.

"It was soon known through the city, and next morning the principal inhabitants of New York came to pay their respects and congratulations; among others, Governor Clinton, Dr. Prevost, Bishop of New York; Mr. Osgood, late envoy to Great Britain; the heads of the college, most of the principal merchants, and deputations from the corporate body, and other societies." See "An Excursion to the United States in the Summer of 1794. By Henry Wansey, F. A. S," *Ed.* 2, (1798,) pp. 71, 72.

Dr. Priestley landed "a day too late" to meet a distinguished public functionary, with whom, in Dr. Price's connexion, he had been formerly well acquainted in England. Mr. Wansey mentions, "June 3, Mr. John Adams, the Vice-president," having "just arrived from Philadelphia in the stage." He adds,

"Having a letter to deliver him from Dr. Priestley, I found him on board the packet, just sailing for Boston. He is a stout, hale, well-looking man, of grave deportment, and very plain in dress and person. He read the letter, and requested me to inform the doctor that he should be glad to see him at Boston, which he desired me to tell him he thought better calculated for him than any other part of America, and that he would find himself very well received if he should be inclined to settle there." *Ibid.* pp. 82, 240, *note*.

I communicated to Dr. Foster that part of your letter respecting Dr. Priestley. He intends to pay him a visit; but the Baptists, as a body, have not liberality enough to do it. Several associated civil and political bodies have waited on him; and I have called a meeting of the English republicans for that purpose.*

The following letter, my friend Mr. Belsham very obligingly placed at my disposal several years since, to serve the present purpose. Mrs. Priestley has there agreeably related various particulars of the passage from England, which was unusually long, and of the reception which Dr. Priestley and his family had found at New York :

DEAR SIR,

New York, June 15, 1794.

I NOW sit down to fulfil my promise of writing to you, and am happy to inform you that we are both very well, and much pleased with New York, and the inhabitants, the little we have seen of it.

Our voyage at times was very unpleasant, from the roughness of the weather; but as variety is charming, we had all that could well be experienced on board, but shipwreck and famine. We had gales and squalls, and worked much of our way against head-sea for three days. We passed mountains of ice, larger than the captain had ever seen before; and kept watch two nights, fearing we might come too near some of them. One day we saw water-spouts great part of the day. I saw four at one time; but, happy for us, they kept a proper distance. We saw billows mountain-high, which by night appeared all on fire, and sometimes by night we were illumed around by the ship cutting her way through them.

One day we had a tremendous gale of wind, which took the ship in full sail. This was a very awful sight, and made great havoc with the sails, and carried away the top-sails. In this gale, which lasted about half an hour with great violence, I found myself more vexed than frightened, as I fancied it might

* *Orig.* MS. obligingly communicated by the late Dr. John Evans, as found among the papers of his friend Mr. Richards.

have been much lessened by care. I cannot say that I ever suffered much from fear, which I believe was owing to being upon all these occasions fully employed by those who were frightened, and various other things wherein any one may be of use, if so disposed.

Dr. P. bore the voyage much better than I expected. I had prepared my mind for sickness, &c., but I was more severely handled than the rest; but at the end of three weeks I was able to leave my bed, and recovered as well as I could expect, till a few days before we got to land, when I felt as well as ever I did in my life, and have been so ever since.

I wrote during the voyage thirty-two pages of large paper, to send over, with all the occurrences that passed; but now I am got to land, it appears to me so trifling, though at the time I wrote it I thought it might be entertaining, that I shall not send it over.

I have not much advice to give to such as make the voyage as to what they should take out; for my own part, if I must take another voyage, I should lay in stores of what I could not bear the sight of at land. As to mental provision, I would wish every one to lay in a large store. Mine sufficed for myself, but I had not the power to distribute it in the same manner as the eatables I took.

I would recommend every one to have motives strong enough to overbalance every inconvenience they meet with on the voyage. I would also advise them to lay in a great stock of patience; and where so many are to be so long together in so small a compass, they should make up their minds to bear and forbear; and I should think, for their own happiness, they would wish to consult the good of those about them, which would make them feel their own grievances less. I was hurt to see in general that none troubled themselves about the sufferings of others.

I like New York very much, and the people still more. We have met with great civility from every body, and have been in several large parties.* Dr. P. is wonderfully pleased

* At one of these, a dinner-party, at Mr. Osgood's, Mr. Wausey says,

with every thing, and indeed I think he has great reason, from the attentions paid him. I never felt myself more at home in my life than since my arrival here; nor have I seen any I am more prejudiced in favour of, than Governor Clinton and his family. Finding Dr. P. so much occupied, I went with my daughter yesterday to spend the afternoon with them, and they returned the visit this morning. Both he and Mrs. Clinton seem excellent, worthy characters. We have been with the first and most respectable people in the place, and much pleased indeed with most we have seen, as you yourself would, had you been with us. How I shall like Philadelphia, remains to be tried, where we shall go as soon as we can possibly leave this place. After we have staid a few days, we propose going to Northumberland, to look about us there. At present, I can say little about the country. Every thing has as yet been pleasant and inviting. I have not yet seen Harry. He is at Northumberland.

It will give me great pleasure to hear from you. Give my kind love to your sister. It will give me great satisfaction to hear of her health and happiness, whether at present with you, or at Exeter. I beg to be kindly remembered to all our common friends, particularly Mr. Rickards's family. I often think of you and my other friends, when I have time to think at all; but indeed we have been, and shall be for some time, in a constant hurry, which must be an apology for this hasty letter.

he met "Dr. and Mrs. Priestley, the Bishop of New York and his lady, M. Genet, the late French ambassador, &c." He adds,

"We had much interesting conversation after dinner, especially on political subjects. I could not help remarking that I was seated between the Bishop and Dr. Priestley, the seat of war in England, but of peace and civility here (no loaves and fishes in the way). When we retired to the drawing-room for tea and coffee, conversation continued too interesting for any one to propose cards, and about ten in the evening we separated."

"Saturday, June 14." Mr. Wansey accompanied "Dr. and the two Mrs. Priestleys to call on Dr. Prevost, the bishop, a pleasant, agreeable man, of plain manners and good sense. No honours annexed to the office of bishop in America. You neither address them as Lords, or Right Reverend Fathers in God." *Excursion*, pp. 189, 190.

Farewell, my dear Sir, and believe me your affectionate and obliged friend,

MARY PRIESTLEY.*

*To Rev. T. Belsham,
New College, Hackney.*

I now return to Dr. Priestley's Memoir, not without a regret, of which, I trust, few readers will be insensible, that it is for the last time. Having carried on the account of his publications till he "left England," he thus proceeds :

(210.) As the reasons for this step in my conduct are given at large in the preface to my Fast Sermon, I shall not dwell upon them here. The bigotry of the country in general made it impossible for me to place my sons in it to any advantage. William had been some time in France, and on the breaking out of the troubles in that country he had embarked for America, where his two brothers met him. My own situation, if not hazardous, was become unpleasant, so that I thought my removal would be of more service to the cause of truth than my longer stay in England. At length, therefore, with the approbation of all my friends, without exception, but with great reluctance on my own part, I came to that resolution, I being at a time of life in which I could not expect much satisfaction as to friends and society, comparable to that which I left, in which the resumption of my philosophical pursuits must be attended with great disadvantage, and in which success in my still more favourite pursuit, the propagation of Unitarianism, was still more uncertain. It was also painful to me to leave my daughter,† Mr. Finch having the greatest aversion to leave his relations and friends in England.

(211.) At the time of my leaving England, my son, in conjunction with Mr. Cooper, and other English emigrants, had a

* Orig. MS.

† See *supra*, p. 227.

scheme for a large settlement* for the friends of liberty in general, near the head of the Susquehanna, in Pennsylvania; and taking it for granted that it would be carried into effect, after landing at New York, I went to Philadelphia, and thence came to Northumberland, a town the nearest to the proposed settlement, thinking to reside there until some progress had been made in it. The settlement was given up;† but being here, and my wife and myself liking the place, I have determined to take up my residence here, though subject to many disadvantages. Philadelphia was excessively expensive, and this comparatively a cheap place; and my sons, settling in the neighbourhood, will be less exposed to temptation, and more likely to form habits of sobriety and industry. They will also be settled at much less expense than in or near a large town. We hope, after some time, to be joined by a few of our friends

* In which, Mr. Priestley says, his father “had not, as erroneously reported, the least concern, nor was consulted in the formation of the plan.”

Continuation.

† “The scheme of settlement,” says Mr. Priestley, “was not confined to any particular class or character of men, religious or political. It was set on foot to be, as it were, a rallying-point for the English, who were at that time emigrating to America in great numbers, and who, it was thought, would be more happy in society of the kind they had been accustomed to, than they would be dispersed, as they now are, through the whole of the United States. It was farther thought, that by the union of industry and capital, the wilderness would soon become cultivated, and equal to any other part of the country in every thing necessary to the enjoyment of life. To promote this as much as possible, the original projectors of that scheme reserved only a few shares for themselves, for which they paid the same as those who had no trouble or expense either in forming the plan, or carrying it into execution. This they did with a view to take away all source of jealousy, and to increase the facility of settlement, by increasing the proportion of settlers to the quantity of land to be settled.

“Fortunately for the original proposers, the scheme was abandoned. It might and would have answered in a pecuniary point of view, as the land now [1804] sells at double and treble the price then asked for it, without the advantages which that settlement would have given rise to; but the generality of Englishmen come to this country with such erroneous ideas, and, unless previously accustomed to a life of labour, are so ill qualified to commence cultivation in a wilderness, that the projectors would most probably have been subject to still more unfounded abuse than they have been, for their well-meant endeavours to promote the interests of their countrymen.” *Ibid.*

from England, that a readier communication will be opened with Philadelphia, and that the place will improve, and become more eligible in other respects.

(212.) When I was at sea, I wrote some "Observations on the Cause of the present Prevalence of Infidelity," which I published, and prefixed to a new edition of the "Letters to the Philosophers and Politicians of France." I have also published my "Fast and Farewell Sermons," and my "Small Tracts" in defence of Unitarianism; also a "Continuation of those Letters," and a "Third Part of Letters to a Philosophical Unbeliever," in answer to "Mr. Paine's Age of Reason."

(213.) The observations on the prevalence of infidelity I have much enlarged, and intend soon to print; but I am chiefly employed on the continuation of my "History of the Christian Church."

(214.) Northumberland, March 24, 1795, in which I have completed the sixty-second year of my age.

Thus finally concludes, as I had occasion to remark at the commencement of this second volume, that most interesting portion of the first, Dr. Priestley's autobiography. I shall now proceed to arrange and illustrate his remaining correspondence, continued till within a few days of his decaase. The early part will strikingly display his honourable reception in the new world, for which, more than a century ago, the benevolent and presaging mind of Berkeley, to whom an episcopate could add no renown, had anticipated a condition of society,

Where nature guides, and virtue rules,
Where men shall not impose for truth and sense
The pedantry of courts and schools.*

* See "Verses (1729) on the prospect of planting arts and learning in America," *Miscellany*, (1752,) p. 187.

The late Bishop Stock, Berkeley's biographer, says, that in these verses "another age perhaps will acknowledge the old conjunction of the prophetic character with that of the poet to have taken place." See *Biog. Brit.* II. 254, 255; "*Oriental Herald*," (1824,) I. 624.

FROM THE COMMITTEE OF THE TAMMANY SOCIETY.

A NUMEROUS body of freemen, who associate to cultivate among them the love of liberty, and the enjoyment of the happy republican government under which they live, and who, for several years, have been known in this city by the name of Tammany Society, have deputed us a committee, to express to you their pleasure and congratulations on your safe arrival in this country. Their venerable ancestors escaped, as you have done, from the persecutions of intolerance, bigotry, and despotism; and they would deem themselves an unworthy progeny were they not highly interested in your safety and happiness.

It is not alone because your various useful publications evince a life devoted to literature, and the industrious pursuit of knowledge; not only because your numerous discoveries in nature are so efficient to the progression of human happiness; but they have long known you to be the friend of mankind; and, in defiance of calumny and malice, an asserter of the rights of conscience, and the champion of civil and religious liberty.

They have learned, with regret and indignation, the abandoned proceedings of those spoilers who destroyed your house and goods, ruined your philosophical apparatus and library, committed to the flames your manuscripts, pryed into the secrets of your private papers, and, in their barbarian fury, put your life itself in danger. They heard you also, with exalted benevolence, return unto them "blessings for curses;" and while you thus exemplified the undaunted integrity of the patriot, the mild and forbearing virtues of the Christian, they hailed you victor in this magnanimous triumph over your enemies.

You have fled from the rude arm of violence, from the flames of bigotry, from the rod of lawless power; and you shall find refuge in the bosom of freedom, of peace, and of Americans.

You have left your native land, a country doubtless ever dear to you; a country for whose improvement in virtue and knowledge you have long disinterestedly laboured; for which its rewards are ingratitude, injustice, and banishment; a coun-

try, although now presenting a prospect frightful to the eye of humanity, yet once the nurse of science, of arts, of heroes, and of freemen; a country which, although at present apparently self-devoted to destruction, we fondly hope may yet tread back the steps of infamy and ruin, and once more rise conspicuous among the free nations of the earth.

In this advanced period of your life, when nature demands the sweets of tranquillity, you have been constrained to encounter the tempestuous deep, to risk disappointed prospects in a foreign land, to give up the satisfaction of domestic quiet, to tear yourself from the friends of your youth, from a numerous acquaintance who revere and love you, and will long deplore your loss.

We enter, Sir, with emotion and sympathy into the numerous sacrifices you must have made to an undertaking which so eminently exhibits our country as an asylum for the persecuted and oppressed, and into those regretful sensibilities your heart experienced when the shores of your native land were lessening to your view.

Alive to the impressions of this occasion, we give you a warm and hearty welcome into these United States; we trust a country worthy of you, where Providence has unfolded a scene as new as it is august, as felicitating as it is unexampled. The enjoyment of liberty, with but one disgraceful exception, pervades every class of citizens. A catholic and sincere spirit of toleration regulates society, which rises into zeal when the sacred rights of humanity are invaded. And there exists a sentiment of free and candid inquiry, which disdains the shackles of tradition, promising a rich harvest of improvement, and the glorious triumph of truth.

We hope, Sir, that the great Being, whose laws and works you have made the study of your life, will smile upon and bless you, restore you to every domestic and philosophical enjoyment, prosper you in every undertaking beneficial to mankind, render you, as you have been of your own, the ornament of this country, and crown you at last with immortal felicity and honour.*

* Porcupine's *Works*, (1801,) I. 129.

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE TAMMANY SOCIETY.

GENTLEMEN,

New York, June 5, 1794.

I THINK myself greatly honoured, flying, as I do, from ill-treatment in my native country, on account of my attachment to the cause of civil and religious liberty, to be received with the congratulations of “a society of freemen, associated to cultivate the love of liberty, and the enjoyment of a happy republican government.”

Happy would our venerable ancestors, as you justly call them, have been to have found America such a retreat for them as it is to me, when they were driven hither; but happy has it proved to me, and happy will it be for the world, that, in the wise and benevolent order of Providence, abuses of power are ever destructive of itself, and favourable to liberty. Their strenuous exertions, and yours, now give me that asylum which, at my time of life, is peculiarly grateful to me, who only wish to continue, unmolested, those pursuits of various literature, to which, without having ever entered into any political connexions, my life has been devoted.

I join you in viewing, with regret, the unfavourable prospect of Great Britain, formerly, as you say, the nurse of science and of freemen; and wish, with you, that the unhappy delusion that country is now under may soon vanish, and that, whatever be the form of its government, it may vie with this country in every thing that is favourable to the best interests of mankind, and join with you in removing that only disgraceful circumstance, which you justly acknowledge to be an exception to the enjoyment of equal liberty among yourselves. That the great Being, whose providence extends alike to all the human race, and to whose disposal I cheerfully commit myself, may establish whatever is good, and remove whatever is imperfect from your government, and from every government in the known world, is the earnest prayer of, gentlemen, your respectful, humble servant.*

* “The Committee appointed by the Tammany Society, to address their congratulations, &c., to the Rev. Joseph Priestley, having reported their

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.*

DEAR FRIEND,

New York, June 6, 1794.

I HOPE you received the letters I wrote from Gravesend, Deal, and Falmouth. I now write from New York, where we are safely arrived, after a passage of eight weeks and a day, owing to our having had none but westerly winds, after we got clear of the channel, till the last fortnight. We also found the coast covered with a thick fog, very unusual at this time of the year, so that we were three days before we could get into the bay, after we reached the coast.

We had an excellent ship; but the captain was not the man he had been represented to me. He swore much, and was given to liquor, and the crew very disorderly. However, he made a point of behaving in his best manner to us, and is naturally very generous and good-natured. Unfortunately, the mate and he did not agree, and no care had been taken of the water casks, so that the steerage passengers suffered much in consequence of it, and *we* had many complaints; and if the voyage had been longer, the consequences might have been serious.

Our society in the cabin was agreeable enough, though the majority were aristocratically inclined; but all in the steerage were zealous republicans, and persons of good character, and several of good property. In the steerage, also, there was more religion than in the cabin, but they were universally Calvinists, though the majority very moderate, as you will suppose from their applying to me to perform divine service to them, which I did with much satisfaction, when the weather and other circumstances would permit, several in the cabin joining us, though some of them were unbelievers, but for want of information. This is the case with Mr. Lyon, a most excellent man, who is now reading my Sermons on the Evidences of Revelation, and, I hope, to good purpose. He, address, and his answer thereto, and that the first opportunity had been taken to wait on him, agreeable to their direction, the society resolved, unanimously, the publication of their report." *Ibid.* p. 12.

* Essex Street.

like thousands of others, told me that he was so much disgusted with the doctrines of the Church of England, especially the Trinity, that he considered the whole business as an imposition, without farther inquiry.

The confinement in the ship would not have been disagreeable if I could have *written* with convenience, but I could do little more than read. I read the whole of the Greek Testament, and the Hebrew Bible as far as the first Book of Samuel; and, I think, with more satisfaction than ever. I also read through Hartley's second volume, and, for amusement, I had several books of voyages, and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, which I read through. I always admired his Latin versification. If I had a Virgil, I should have read him through, too. I read a great deal of Buchanan's poems, and some of Petrarch *de remediis*, and Erasmus's Dialogues; also Peter Pindar's poems, which Mr. Lyon had with him, and which pleased me much more than I expected. He is Paine in verse. Though it was particularly inconvenient to write long hand, I composed about as much as will make two sermons on the causes of infidelity, which will make a proper addition to the volume of my discourses. If I do not print them here, I will send you a copy. Now that I have access to the first volume of Hartley, in the fine edition Mrs. Lindsey gave me, I think I can improve what I wrote. The second volume I had in the ship, was an odd volume of the set that was destroyed in the riot.

We had many things to amuse us on the passage; as the sight of some fine mountains of ice; water-spouts, which are very uncommon in those seas; flying fishes, porpoises, whales, and sharks, of which we caught one; luminous sea-water, &c. I also amused myself with trying the heat of the water at different depths, and made other observations, which suggest various experiments, which I shall prosecute whenever I get my apparatus at liberty. We had some very stormy weather, and one gust of wind as sudden and violent as, perhaps, was ever known. If it had not been for the passengers, many of the sails had been lost.

I had not much sea-sickness; but, owing to our wretched

cookery, had no appetite for any thing, till within a fortnight or three weeks of our landing; but then I was perfectly reconciled to every thing. My wife was really very ill a great part of the time; but at last grew very well, and looks better, almost, than ever. On the whole, the voyage has done us no harm, but good.

Joseph and his wife had been waiting for us some time; they and their brothers very well, which is a great satisfaction to us. We shall probably go with them to Philadelphia, before we go any where else, as I hear there are proposals to be made to me about establishing a new college in some part of Pennsylvania, about which you shall hear more when I know more.

I never saw any place that I liked so well as New York. It far exceeds my expectations, and my reception is too flattering, no form of respect being omitted. I have received two formal addresses, to which I have given answers. More, I hear, are coming; and almost every person of the least consequence in the place, has been, or is coming, to call upon me. This is rather troublesome; but it shews the difference of the two countries. Every thing that bore the name of king or queen is changed, as streets, &c., &c.; and yet this is the most aristocratical place on the continent. I am lodged in the house which was the head-quarters of generals Howe and Clinton, in view of the bay, which is the finest prospect that I remember ever to have seen.

This must be a glorious country,* and I doubt not of finding a peaceable and useful establishment in it. When that is accomplished, my only wish will be to have you, and a few other Christian friends, to come and end their days with us. But we must not promise ourselves too much in this world.

Say for me every thing that a grateful heart can dictate, both from myself, my wife, and my son, to Mrs. Rayner. Yours and Mrs. Lindsey's most affectionately.†

* See *supra*, p. 240, *ad fin.* Lord Corke conjectures, in 1755, that "the ball of empire may hereafter roll westward, and may stop in America." See his "Letters from Italy," (1774,) p. 155.

† *Orig.* MS.

FROM THE COMMITTEE OF THE DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY.

SIR,

WE are appointed by the Democratic Society of the city of New York, a committee to congratulate you on your arrival in this country; and we feel the most lively pleasure in bidding you a hearty welcome to these shores of liberty and equality.

While the arm of tyranny is extended in most of the nations of the world to crush the spirit of liberty, and bind in chains the bodies and minds of men, we acknowledge with ardent gratitude to the great Parent of the universe, our singular felicity in living in a land where reason has successfully triumphed over the artificial distinctions of European policy and bigotry, and where the law equally protects the virtuous citizen of every description and persuasion.

On this occasion we cannot but observe that we once esteemed ourselves happy in the relation that subsisted between us and the government of Great Britain; but the multiplied oppressions which characterize that government, excite in us the most painful sensations, and exhibit a spectacle as disgusting in itself as dishonourable to the British name.

The governments of the old world present to us one huge mass of intrigue, corruption, and despotism. Most of them are now basely combined to prevent the establishment of liberty in France, and to effect the total destruction of the rights of man. Under these afflicting circumstances, we rejoice that America opens her arms to receive, with fraternal affection, the friend of liberty and human happiness, and that *here* he may enjoy the best blessings of civilized society.

We sincerely sympathize with you in all that you have suffered; and we consider the persecution with which you have been pursued by a venal court, and an imperious, uncharitable priesthood, as an illustrious proof of your personal merit, and a lasting reproach to that government, from the grasp of whose tyranny you are so happily removed.

Accept, Sir, of the sincere and best wishes of the society

whom we represent, for the continuance of your health, and the increase of your individual and domestic happiness.*

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY.

GENTLEMEN,

New York, June 6, 1794.

VIEWING with the deepest concern, as you do, the prospect that is now exhibited in Europe, those troubles which are the natural offspring of their forms of government, originating, indeed, in the spirit of liberty, but gradually degenerating into tyrannies equally degrading to the rulers and the ruled, rejoice in finding an asylum from persecution in a country in which these abuses have come to a natural termination, and have produced another system of liberty, founded on such wise principles as, I trust, will guard it against all future abuses; those artificial distinctions in society, from which they sprung, being completely eradicated, that protection from violence which laws and government promise in all countries, but which I have not found in my own, I doubt not I shall find with you, though I cannot promise to be a better subject of this government than my whole conduct will evince that I have been to that of Great Britain.

Justly, however, as I think I may complain of the treatment I have met with in England, I sincerely wish her prosperity; and from the good-will I bear, both to that country and this, I ardently wish that all former animosities may be forgotten, and that a perpetual friendship may subsist between them.†

FROM SENEX.

SIR,

Philadelphia, June, 1794.

A STRANGER arrived in a new country, with whose opinions, habits, &c., he has but that imperfect acquaintance which is formed by literary correspondence, will be safer by preserving a respectful distance from, than by an intimate union with, any party, who may step forward and endeavour, by a flattering address, to prepossess his mind in their favour.

* "James Nicholson, President." *Porcupine's Works*, I. 130.

† *Ibid.* p. 131. Mr. Wansey says this "answer pleased every body, except the society itself." *Excursion*, p. 72.

Your answer to the Address of the Democratic Society of New York is modest and decent; it conveys ideas of peace and harmony with all the world; but differing from their expectations: they hoped to have found in you the enemy of those who had persecuted you; they trusted that you were, like themselves, unable to forget wrongs; that because you had written and preached in favour of the unity of the Deity, you, therefore, (with them,) were averse to the principles of Christianity, inculcated in the sermon of Jesus Christ. (*Matt. v. 9, 11, 12.*)

Your answer to them convinces a number of your friends that they were and are mistaken in their ideas of your resentment. There are few men in America who will not be happy in the acquaintance of a person distinguished as you are by your researches in philosophy, and the moderation of your inquiries into moral, natural, and revealed religion.

You will reap in this western world a temporal enjoyment of a well-earned reputation, if you preserve yourself from all party spirit. But, Sir, you are in danger; a party is endeavouring to make a merit to themselves of your weight and influence. Beware, Sir, of casting it into the scale on either side; preserve it for the good of mankind by your guarded conduct; and let us, who have only heard from a distance, see that your virtues are truly Christian; that though you express doubts of the divinity of our Saviour, you believe the divine message itself; and that persecuted in one city you flee to another, and that only for peace and repose.

Be assured, Sir, that there is no persecution here against opinions, and that, however different yours may be from that of the majority, you may write, print, or preach them, without danger of persecution of any kind; and that while we are instructed by those parts of your doctrines which with freedom we imbibe, we shall never be angry because we cannot subscribe to those we reject, nor yet suspect you of being displeased for the exercise of our free will.

Conducting yourself this way, your private virtues, your industry in the pursuit of knowledge useful to mankind, will render your name respected as Franklin's. By a contrary con-

duct, by coalescing with any party whatever, you will certainly diminish your fame, as much as the opposite party is proportioned to that which you shall adopt, and sink the great and well-earned reputation of your long life.*

FROM THE ASSOCIATED TEACHERS.

SIR,

THE Associated Teachers in the City of New York, beg leave to offer you a sincere and hearty welcome to this land of tranquillity and freedom.

Impressed with the idea of the real importance of so valuable an acquisition to the growing interests of science and literature in this country, we are particularly happy that the honour of your first reception has fallen to this State, and to the City of New York.

As labourers in those fields which you have occupied with the most distinguished eminence, the arduous and important task of cultivating the human mind, we contemplate, with peculiar satisfaction, the auspicious influence which your personal residence in this country will add to that of your highly-valuable scientific and literary productions, by which we have already been materially benefited.

We beg leave to anticipate the happiness of sharing, in some degree, that patronage of science and literature which it has ever been your delight to afford. This will give facility to our exertions; direct and encourage us in our arduous employments; assist us to form the *man*, and thereby give efficacy to the diffusion of useful knowledge.

Our most ardent wishes attend you, good Sir, that you may find, in this land of virtuous simplicity, a happy recess from the intriguing politics and vitiating refinements of the European world; that your patriotic virtues may add to the vigour of our happy constitution, and that the blessings of this country may be abundantly remunerated into your person and your family.

And we rejoice in believing that the Parent of Nature, by

* *Ibid.* p. 73.

those secret communications of happiness with which he never fails to reward the virtuous mind, will here convey to you that consolation, support, and joy, which are independent of local circumstances, and which “the world can neither give nor take away.”*

TO THE ASSOCIATED TEACHERS.

GENTLEMEN,

A WELCOME to this country, from my fellow-labourers in the instruction of youth, is, I assure you, peculiarly grateful to me.

Classes of men, as well as individuals, are apt to form too high ideas of their own importance; but, certainly, one of the most important is that which contributes so much as ours do to the communication of useful knowledge, as forming the characters of men; thereby fitting them for their several stations in society. In some form or other, this has been my employment and delight; and my principal object in flying for an asylum to this country, “a land,” as I hope you justly term it, “of virtuous simplicity, and a recess from the intriguing politics and vicious refinements of the European world,” is, that I may, without molestation, pursue my favourite studies. And, if I had an opportunity of making choice of an employment for what remains of active exertion in life, it would be one in which I should, as I hope I have hitherto done, contribute, with you, to advance the cause of science, of virtue, and of religion.†

FROM THE REPUBLICAN NATIVES OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

SIR,

WE, the republican natives of Great Britain and Ireland, resident in the city of New York, embrace, with the highest satisfaction, the opportunity which your arrival in this city

* “Signed, by order of the committee, William Payne, chairman; Edward Shepherd, secretary.” *Gent. Mag.* LXIV. 850.

† *Ibid.*

presents, of bearing our testimony to your character and virtues, and of expressing our joy that you come among us in circumstances of such good health and spirits.

We have beheld, with the keenest sensibility, the unparalleled persecutions which attended you in your native country, and have sympathized with you, under all their variety and extent. In the firm hope that you are now completely removed from every species of intolerance, we most sincerely congratulate you.

After a fruitless opposition to a corrupt and tyrannical government, many of us have, like you, sought freedom and protection in the United States of America; but to this we have all been principally induced from the full persuasion that a republican representative government was not merely best adapted to promote human happiness, but that it is the only rational system worthy the wisdom of man to project, or to which his reason should assent.

Participating in the many blessings which the government of this country is calculated to ensure, we are happy in giving it this proof of our respectful attachment. We are only grieved that a system of such beauty and excellence should be at all tarnished by the existence of slavery in any form;* but as friends to the equal rights of man, we must be permitted to say, that we wish these rights extended to every human being, be his complexion what it may. We, however, look forward with pleasing anticipation to a yet more perfect state of society; and from that love of liberty which forms so distinguishing a trait in the American character, are taught to hope this last, this worst disgrace to a free government, will, finally and for ever, be done away.

While we look back on our native country with emotions of pity and indignation at the outrages which humanity has sus-

* See *supra*, pp. 242, 243. Mr. Wansey copied from one of "the Philadelphia papers" the following advertisement:

"Feb. 23, 1794. To be disposed of, a Negro lad, seventeen years of age, either *for life*, or a term of years, as may suit the purchaser. He has been accustomed both to house work and farming. For further particulars inquire at the office of the Aurora." *Excursion*.

tained in the person of the virtuous Muir and his patriotic associates, and deeply lament the fatal apathy into which our countrymen have fallen, we desire to be thankful to the great Author of our being that we are in America, and that it has pleased him in his wise providence to make the United States an asylum, not only from the immediate tyranny of the British government, but also from those impending calamities which its increasing despotism, and multiplied iniquities, must infallibly bring down on a deluded and oppressed people.

Accept, Sir, of our affectionate and best wishes for a long continuance of your health and happiness.*

TO THE REPUBLICAN NATIVES OF GREAT BRITAIN AND
IRELAND.

GENTLEMEN,

New York, June 13, 1794.

I THINK myself peculiarly happy in finding in this country so many persons of sentiments similar to my own, some of whom have probably left Great Britain or Ireland on the same account, and to be so cheerfully welcomed by them on my arrival. You have already had experience of the difference between the governments of the two countries, and, I doubt not, have seen sufficient reason to give the decided preference that you do to that of this. There, all liberty of speech and of the press, as far as politics are concerned, is at an end, and the spirit of intolerance in matters of religion is almost as high as in the times of the Stuarts. Here, having no countenance from Government, whatever may remain of this spirit from the ignorance and consequent bigotry of former times, it may be expected soon to die away, and on all subjects whatever every man enjoys the invaluable liberty of speaking and writing whatever he pleases.

The wisdom and happiness of republican governments, and the evils resulting from hereditary monarchical ones, cannot appear in a stronger light to you than they do to me. We need

* “Signed, Henry Pope, chairman; William Allum, secretary.” *Porcupine’s Works*, I. 132.

only look to the present state of Europe and of America to be fully satisfied in this respect.

The former will easily reform themselves; and among other improvements, I am persuaded will be the removal of that vestige of servitude to which you allude, as it so ill accords with the spirit of equal liberty* from which the rest of the system has flowed; whereas no material reformation of the many abuses to which the latter are subject, it is to be feared, can be made without violence and confusion.

I congratulate you, gentlemen, as you do me, on our arrival in a country in which men who wish well to their fellow-citizens, and use their best endeavours to render them the most important services, men who are an honour to human nature and to any country, are in no danger of being treated like the worst of felons, as is now the case in Great Britain.

Happy should I think myself in joining with you in welcoming to this country every friend of liberty who is exposed to danger from the tyranny of the British Government, and who, while they continue under it, must expect to share in those calamities which its present infatuation must, sooner or later, bring upon it. But let us all join in supplication to the great Parent of the universe, that, for the sake of the many excellent characters in our native country, its government may be reformed, and the judgments impending over it prevented.†

FROM THE MEDICAL SOCIETY.

SIR,

New York, June 13, 1794.

PERMIT us, Sir, to wait upon you with an offering of our sincere congratulations on your safe arrival, with your lady and family, in this happy country, and to express our real joy in receiving among us a gentleman whose labours have contributed so much to the diffusion and establishment of civil and religious liberty, and whose deep researches into the true

* See "Sermon on the Slave Trade," (1788,) W. XV. 363.

† Porcupine's *Works*, I. 134.

principles of natural philosophy have derived so much improvement and real benefit, not only to the sciences of chemistry and medicine, but to various other arts, all of which are necessary to the ornament and utility of human life.

May you, Sir, possess and enjoy *here* uninterrupted contentment and happiness, and may your valuable life be continued a farther blessing to mankind.*

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE MEDICAL SOCIETY.

GENTLEMEN,

New York, June 13, 1794.

I THINK myself greatly honoured in being congratulated on my arrival in this country by a society of persons whose studies bear some relation to my own.

To continue without fear of molestation, on account of any *sentiments*, civil or religious, those pursuits which you are sensible have for their object the advantage of all mankind, (being, as you justly observed, “necessary to the ornament and utility of human life,”) is my principal motive for leaving a country in which that tranquillity and sense of security which scientific pursuits require, cannot be had; and I am happy to find here persons who are engaged in the same pursuits, and who have the just sense that you discover of their truly enviable situation.†

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.‡

DEAR FRIEND,

New York, June 15, 1794.

WE have now been here near a fortnight, and I begin to expect to hear from you, which is the greatest satisfaction that I expect in this country; but I sometimes think that every thing here is so promising, and every thing with you so threatening, that perhaps even you and Mrs. Lindsey may be induced to end your days with us. To accomplish this, I should at any time come over and fetch you. Indeed, the difference between the aspect of things here and with you is not to be expressed. I feel as if I were in another world. I never before could conceive how satisfactory it is to have the feeling

* “By order, John Charlton, President.” *Ibid.* p. 136.

† *Ibid.*

‡ Essex Street

that I now have, from a sense of perfect security and liberty, all men having equal rights and privileges, and speaking and acting as if they were sensible of it. Here are no beggars to be seen,* and families are easily maintained by any kind of labour; and whether it be the effect of general liberty, or some other cause, I find many more clever men, men capable of conversing with propriety and fluency on all subjects relating to government, than I have met with any where in England. I have seen many of the members of Congress on their return from it, and, without exception, they seem to be men of first-rate ability, though some of them plain in their manners.

With respect to myself, the difference is great indeed. In England, I was an object of the greatest aversion to every person connected with Government; whereas here, they are those who shew me the most respect. With you, the episcopal church is above every thing. In this city, it makes a decent figure, but the Presbyterians are much above them, and the governor, (Clinton,) who is particularly attentive to me, goes to the meeting-house.†

But the preachers, though all civil to me, look upon me with dread,‡ and none of them have asked me to preach in their pul-

* As Mr. Wansey also remarked. Writing "to Mr. Lindsey from Salisbury, Aug. 28, 1794," soon after his return to England, he says,

"It is a pleasant country, and the people I found every where friendly and hospitable; a great sobriety of manners; equality exemplified in its true sense; nor do I once remember to have seen a beggar or a ragged person."

Mem. of Lindsey, p. 386, note.

† Where, "June 1," Mr. Wansey "heard Dr. Rodgers preach, and afterwards administer the Lord's supper. 'I invite,' says he, 'all of you to partake; but none,' lifting up his hand, and throwing his palm outwards, towards Governor Clinton's seat, where the Priestleys were, 'no, none of those who deny the divinity of our Saviour.'" *Excursion*, pp. 70, 71.

‡ "June 15. Being *Trinity* Sunday, the divines preached almost universally in support of that doctrine. The famous interpolated text [1 *John* v. 7] was not forgotten. At Trinity Church I heard Dr. Beach from these words, 'Acquaint now thyself with God, and be at peace with him; thereby good shall come unto thee.' In a very personal manner he applied them to Dr. Priestley, as if the cause of all his troubles was his ignorance of the nature of the Deity. They are really afraid of Dr. Priestley, and are preparing publications against Unitarianism, making no doubt of a complete victory." *Ibid.* pp. 190, 191.

pits.* This, however, does them no good. Several persons express a wish to hear me, and are ashamed of the illiberality of the preachers; and some are avowed Unitarians, so that I am fully persuaded an Unitarian minister of prudence and good sense might do very well here. If I were here a Sunday or two more I would make a beginning, and I intend to return for this purpose. The greatest difficulty arises from the indifference of liberal-minded men here to religion in general; they are so much occupied with commerce and politics. One man of proper spirit would be sufficient to establish a solid Unitarian interest, and I am persuaded it will soon be done.

As I am much attended to, and my writings, which are in a manner unknown here, begin to be inquired after, I will get my small pamphlets immediately printed here, and wherever I can get an invitation to preach, I will go. With this view, I shall carefully avoid all the party-politics of the country, and have no other objects besides religion and philosophy. Philadelphia will be a more favourable situation than this, and there I shall make a beginning. It will be better, however, to wait a little time, and not shew much zeal at the first; and as my coming hither is much talked of, I shall reprint my Fast and Farewell Sermons.

As it may serve to amuse you and Mrs. Lindsey, I will inclose copies of some addresses and my answers, and also some letters from persons who are of a party opposite to the addressers, but equally friendly to me; and I find I have given as much satisfaction to them by the caution I have observed in my answers, as to the addressers, who, however, I believe, are now well satisfied that I do not openly join any of their societies, though at first I am informed they were very desirous of it.

The parties are the Federalists† and Anti-Federalists,‡ the

* "In their synods, laws have been made repeatedly to prevent foreigners becoming ministers in any of their societies before they have given satisfactory proof that their creed is Calvinism. This is the reason why Dr. Priestley, on his arrival, was not asked to preach." *Excursion*, p. 203.

† "The heads are General Washington, Colonel Hamilton, Dexter, Lee, Murray, Sedgwick, and W. Smith." *Ibid.* p. 76.

‡ "At the head are Maddison, Jefferson, Randolph, Monroe, &c." *Ibid.*

former meaning the friends of the present system, with a leaning to that of England, and friendship with England; the latter wishing for some improvements, leaning to the French system, and rather wishing for war. With a little more irritation, the latter will certainly prevail. They are now, I believe, by far the most numerous, especially in the country, though the others prevail in the towns, especially here. The people of Vermont, on the one hand, and those of Kentucky on the other, can hardly be restrained from falling on the English and Spanish settlements; and the latter, particularly, seem disposed to break off from the Union rather than not have their way.

As Dr. Disney desired me to write to him, and I had a parcel to deliver for him to Bishop Prevost, I inclose the letter for him in this packet to you. I have also written to Mr. Belsham, whom I hope, some time or other, to draw hither. He will tell you my scheme; but as I am going to Philadelphia, I shall soon know more on the subject.

I was never more mortified than I now am, at not having with me any of my small tracts in defence of the Divine Unity, as my being here leads many persons to wish to read what I have written on the subject. If Mr. Johnson has not sent the box of books (chiefly my own publications) that he was to forward to Philadelphia, desire him to do it the first opportunity. I shall reprint them, and I flatter myself they will produce a considerable effect. Indeed, my coming hither promises to be of much more service to our cause than I had imagined; but time is necessary, and I am apt to be too precipitate. I want your cool judgment. You waited patiently a long time in London, but what an abundant harvest have you had there!

Nothing can be more delightful than the weather is here at present, and I do not think the climate will be at all too hot for me. I have only two days more to stay here.* To-day

* "June 18. Dr. Priestley and family set off from New York. I accompanied them across North River to Paulus Hook. He purposes staying at Philadelphia one fortnight only, and then goes up the Susquehannah to Northumberland. He told me, as we passed the river, that his reception was highly flattering to him, and far beyond what he either wished or expected." *Wansey's Excursion*, p. 193.

I dine with Mr. Bridgen,* a friend of Mr. Kemble's, and to-morrow with General Gates, whom I have seen often, and like very much. I have met him frequently, and he is particularly attentive to me, and was so to my son before I came.†

P. S. When you have done with the Addresses, &c., please to forward them to Mr. J. Wilkinson, by his banker, Sir B. Hamet.‡

TO REV. T. BELSHAM.§

DEAR SIR,

New York, June 16, 1794.

MY wife will probably give you an account of our voyage,|| and therefore I shall only say, that after a few weeks I was perfectly reconciled to the sea, and ready to go round the world. I believe too that the voyage has been of service to us both. The climate of this country, I have reason to think, is much better than I had imagined.

As to the government, it is nearly every thing we can wish, and the few imperfections will be easily removed when it is the general interest and wish that they should be so; and here the majority bear rule.¶ Those who covet places of honour,

* "At his country house, three miles out of New York, on the East River." Mr. Wansey says, "Our party were General Gates and his lady, the four Priestleys, and two other gentlemen, besides the family." *Excursion*, p. 191.

† "May 23. I went with Mr. Priestley and Mr. Henry to breakfast with General Gates. He has a very pleasant situation, about three miles from New York, on the borders of the Sound, from whence you have a good view of Long Island and the shipping. He received us very hospitably. His wife described to us a visit paid to them by an Indian warrior.

"The old general, upon finding I came from Wiltshire, called me countryman, and said he was born not far from me, near Totness, in Devonshire. He is quite the Uncle Toby. All his ideas and expressions are still military; at the same time so modest as not to mention any thing relating to Saratoga, or any of his own military achievements." *Ibid.* pp. 64, 65.

On the convention at Saratoga, between Gates and Burgoyne, see I. 302, note *.

"The thanks of Congress were voted to General Gates and his army, and a medal of gold, in commemoration of this splendid achievement, was presented to him by the President, in the name of the United States." *Amer. Ann.* II. 322.

‡ *Orig.* MS. § New College, Hackney. || See *supra*, p. 235.

¶ As, happily, thirty-eight years later, they continue to rule. This wise

for there are none of much profit,* must look to the common people for them.

With respect to religion, there is every thing to do, but a fine opening to good labourers. The harvest truly is ready, and you must send us labourers; but indeed I hope you will come yourself. I can insure you an ample independency in some of the colleges, and very soon there will be room for Unitarian preachers.

The presidentship of a college† in North Carolina is vacant, and equitable constitution of government, in its practical influence, appears to justify, from an American writer, contemplating "Reform in England," the following comparison:

"Look at the United States. In fifty-seven years we have passed through two wars, and great vicissitudes of domestic politics, and have nevertheless paid off a public debt of nearly 200 millions of dollars, (forty millions of pounds sterling,) grown up from three millions of inhabitants to thirteen, and settled the continent for 1000 miles into the interior. This has our tumultuous democracy achieved.

"What has the stable monarchy of Great Britain done in the mean time? Quadrupled her debt. And for what purpose? To put down the French revolution. Is it down? Look at its *dénouement* in July 1830. To put down the French revolution! Every dollar spent by Great Britain in that cause tended to assure its success. Such a policy, under a free representation of the deliberate and intelligent sense of the people, could not have been persevered in. It has entailed on England her present heritage of embarrassment; and unless the reform of Parliament is followed by radical changes in the system of government, in virtue of which it can be administered at half its present expense, nothing will have been gained towards satisfying the public mind." See "North American Review," *Boston*, (1832,) XXXIV. 55, 56.

* According to Mr. Wansey, the "salaries to the legislature" were, "President, 25,000 dollars (5650*l*.); Vice-President, 5000 dollars. (1125*l*.). Each senator, six dollars per day, and three more while travelling to and from Congress. Representative, six dollars per day; and the Speaker, twelve dollars." *Excursion*, p. 240.

In "a contrasted sketch," published twenty years later, with the appropriate motto, *utrum horum mavis accipe*, the chief executives on the side of "Britain" are a "King," (long utterly incapacitated by a hopeless mental malady,) "120,000*l*.;" a "Prince Regent, 595,000*l*." From the whole detail, "it appears that the government expenses of England exceed those of America in the proportion of upwards of *twenty to one*;" while "the Americans have no sinecure places; or pensioners, except a few brave veterans, who fought to obtain and secure their independence; and no internal taxes, their export and import duties being sufficient for all demands." *Single Leaf*.

† "Then erecting, twenty-five miles from Rawleigh." *Excursion*, p. 156.

and I hear they will apply to me to fill it, or depend upon my recommendation of another.* If I think it worth your acceptance, I will name you; but the state of Pennsylvania wish to have a college in the back country near our settlement, and that I shall have the direction of it. If this succeed, it will, I hope, bring us together as usual, and we shall be able to take our walks with more satisfaction than even at Hackney. I go to Philadelphia this week, and when I know more on this subject I shall write to you.

The tutors of the college in this city have about 600 or 700 [dollars] per annum, and I believe that in general the provision is very ample, so that the tutors have no occasion to preach. It is, my son says, the wish of the founders of this college to have all the tutors from England.†

FROM THE PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.

Philadelphia, June 20, 1794.

THE American Philosophical Society, held at Philadelphia, for promoting useful knowledge, offer you their sincere congratulations on your safe arrival in this country. Associated for the purposes of extending and disseminating those improvements in the sciences and the arts which most conduce to the substantial happiness of man, the society felicitate themselves and their country, that your talents and virtues have been transferred to this republic. Considering you as an illustrious member of this institution, your colleagues anticipate your aid in zealously promoting the objects which unite them; as a virtuous man, possessing eminent and useful acquirements, they contemplate, with pleasure, the accession of such worth to the American commonwealth; and, looking forward to your future character of a citizen of this your adopted country, they rejoice in greeting, as such, an enlightened republican.

In this free and happy country, those unalienable rights

* The trustees informed Mr. Wansey, "that a recommendation from Dr. Priestley would insure a friendly attention, and a preference for any gentleman." *Ibid.* p. 158.

† *Orig.* MS.

which the Author of nature committed to man as a sacred deposit, have been secured. Here we have been enabled, under the favour of Divine Providence, to establish a government of laws, and not of men; a government which secures to its citizens equal rights and equal liberty, and which offers an asylum to the good, to the persecuted, and to the oppressed, of other climes.

May you long enjoy every blessing which an elevated and highly-cultivated mind, a pure conscience, and a free country, are capable of bestowing.*

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL
SOCIETY.

GENTLEMEN,

Philadelphia, June 21, 1794.

IT is with peculiar satisfaction that I receive the congratulations of my brethren of the Philosophical Society in this city, on my arrival in this country. It is, in great part, for the sake of pursuing our common studies without molestation, though for the present, you will allow, with far less advantage, that I left my native country and have come to America; and a society of philosophers who will have no objections to a person on account of his political or religious sentiments, will be as grateful as it will be new to me. My past conduct, I hope, will shew that you may depend upon my zeal in promoting the valuable objects of your institution; but you must not flatter yourselves, or me, with supposing that at my time of life, and with the inconvenience attending a new and uncertain settlement, I can be of much service to it.

I am confident, however, from what I have already seen of the spirit of the people of this country, that it will soon appear that republican governments, in which every obstruction is removed to the exertions of all kinds of talents, will be far more favourable to science and the arts than any monarchical government has ever been. The patronage to be met with

* "By order of the society, David Rittenhouse, president." He "died at Philadelphia, 1796, aged 64, and was buried under his observatory." See Porcupine's *Works*, I. 137; Dr. Holmes's *American Annals*, (1808,) II. 404.

there is ever capricious, and as often employed to bear down merit as to promote it, having for its real object, not science, or any thing useful to mankind, but the mere reputation of the patron, who is seldom any judge of science; whereas a *public*, which neither flatters, nor is to be flattered, will not fail, in due time, to distinguish true merit, and to give every encouragement that is proper to be given in the case. Besides, by opening, as you generously do, “an asylum to the persecuted and oppressed of all climes,” you will, in addition to your own native stock, soon receive a large accession of every kind of merit, philosophical not excepted, whereby you will do yourselves great honour, and secure the most permanent advantage to the community.*

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.†

DEAR FRIEND,

Philadelphia, June 24, 1794.

THIS is my third letter to you. The last was by the Hope, from New York. On Thursday last I arrived at this place. Our journey was very pleasant, and the aspect of the country better than I expected.‡

This city is by no means so agreeable as New York; but upon the whole more eligible than any other for my residence, till our settlement be ready for me. With respect to religion, things are exactly in the same state here as in New York. Nobody asks me to preach, and I hear there is much jealousy and dread of me,§ and on the whole I am not sorry for the

* Porcupine's *Works*, I. 138.

† Essex Street.

‡ Mr. Wansey has agreeably described his “Journey to Philadelphia.” *Excursion*, pp. 84—97.

§ This “jealousy and dread” had not subsided, a few months later. Mr. Bakewell, whom I had occasion to quote, (I. 208,) “arrived at Philadelphia Nov. 1.” He says,

“I went several times to the Baptist meeting in Second Street, under the care of Dr. Rogers. This man burst out, and bade the people beware, for ‘a Priestley had entered the land;’ and then, crouching down in a worshipping attitude, exclaimed, ‘Oh, Lamb of God! how would they pluck thee from thy throne!’

“For this indecorous and unmanly conduct, Dr. Rogers was reprimanded

circumstance, as it offends many, who have on this account the greater desire to hear me ; so that I have little doubt but that I shall form a respectable Unitarian society in this place. The alarm of the danger of Unitarianism has been sounded so long, that it has ceased to be terrific to many, and I stand so well

in the public prints, and given to understand that such contumelious usage ill became a member of the Philosophical Society. He seemed to feel the impropriety he had been guilty of, and made an acknowledgment of his error." M. R. I. 393, 394.

I cannot forbear, here to anticipate Dr. Priestley's later visits to Philadelphia, that I may add the following interesting anecdote, from several communicated to me by Mr. James Taylor, of Philadelphia, in 1825, while on a visit to England. Mr. Taylor says,

"The first of these anecdotes was related to me a very few years ago by the late Rev. William Rogers, D.D., a Baptist minister, whose sentiments were highly Calvinistic, but who was strongly attached to Dr. Priestley, and took pleasure in cultivating his acquaintance.

"The doctor, when in Philadelphia, would occasionally call on Dr. Rogers, and without any formal invitation, pass an evening at his house. One afternoon he was there when Dr. Rogers was not at home, having been assured by Mrs. Rogers that her husband would soon be there. Meanwhile, Mr. ———, a Baptist minister, called on Dr. Rogers, and being a person of rough manners, Mrs. R. was a good deal concerned lest he should say something disrespectful to Dr. Priestley in case she introduced the Doctor to him. At last, however, she ventured to announce Dr. P.'s name, who put out his hand ; but instead of taking it, the other immediately drew himself back, saying, as if astonished to meet with Dr. P. in the house of one of his brethren, and afraid of being contaminated by having any social intercourse with him, ' Dr. Joseph Priestley ! I can't be cordial.'

"It is easy to imagine that by this speech Mrs. Rogers was greatly embarrassed. Dr. P. observing this, instantly relieved her by saying, and with all that benevolent expression of countenance and pleasantness of manner for which he was remarkable, ' Well, well, Madam, you and I can be cordial ; and as Dr. Rogers will be soon with us, Mr. ——— and he can converse together, so that we shall all be very comfortable.' Thus encouraged, Mrs. Rogers asked Dr. Priestley some questions relative to the Scripture prophecies, to which he made suitable replies ; and before Dr. Rogers arrived, Mr. ——— was listening with much attention, sometimes making a remark, or putting a question. The evening was passed in the greatest harmony, with no inclination on the part of Mr. ——— to terminate the conversation. At last Dr. P., pulling out his watch, informed Mr. ——— that as it was *ten o'clock*, it was time that two old men like them were at their quarters. The other at first was not willing to believe that Dr. P.'s watch was accurate ; but finding that it was correct, he took his leave with apparent regret, observing, that he had never spent a shorter and more

with the country in other respects, that I dare say I shall have a fair and candid hearing; and at my return from the Susquehannah, where I propose to go the next week, I believe some place will be prepared for me. In the mean time I am printing an edition of my Appeal, and Trial of Elwall, which will be ready, I am told, by the next Monday. Part of the impression will be sent to New York, where things are in as great forwardness as here.

If I do not greatly deceive myself, I see a great harvest opening upon me, and there is room for many labourers; but it will require great prudence and judgment at first. Also, those that come must not be discouraged at first appearances, and be able to support themselves, and at a greater expense than would be necessary in England; and in New York, or here, greater than in London itself. This unexpected expense makes a great proportion of the emigrants repent of their coming, the women especially, who do not easily find any society.

Notwithstanding the flattering attention that is paid to me, I cannot help sometimes regretting the society I had in England; but I am fully satisfied that I did right to leave it; and I firmly believe that much good will be done here by my removal, and in this I rejoice.

An embargo was laid here on all shipping for England. I fear that when this was heard of with you, an embargo would also be laid on ships going from England to America, and that this may be the reason why we have not yet heard from any body, and indeed have had no news of any kind from England. We must have patience, but we are very anxious to hear what passes on the continent of Europe. Here, both the Indians and the English are making encroachments; and if orders from England do not stop those proceedings, a war will be inevitable, and people in the back settlements are so eager for it, that they can hardly be restrained even now.

pleasant evening. He then went away, Dr. P. accompanying him, until it became necessary to separate. Next morning he called on his friend Dr. Rogers, when he made the following frank and manly declaration: 'You and I well know that Dr. Priestley is quite wrong in regard to his theology, but, notwithstanding this, he is a great and good man, and I behaved to him at our first coming together like a fool and a brute.'" *Orig. MS.*

Since I wrote the former part of this letter, I have almost determined to make my residence in Northumberland, and spend a few months of the winter in this city. This will, on many accounts, be better than living chiefly here. The expense will be prodigiously less. I shall have more leisure for all my pursuits, and I shall be on the whole of as much use in propagating Unitarianism as if I resided constantly in the towns.* I see so great a certainty of planting Unitarianism on this continent, that I wish you and Mr. Belsham would look out for proper persons to establish in New York and Philadelphia; and to supply the college, which you may take for granted will be established at the place of my residence.

A place of worship is building here by a society who call themselves Universalists.† They propose to leave it open to any sect of Christians three days in the week; but they want money to finish it. My friends think to furnish them with money, and engage the use of it for Sunday mornings. The society itself, I hear, intend to apply to me to open it, which I shall gladly do. A person with a proper spirit and prudence may do great things here. I find I have great advantages, and I hope to make a good use of them.

I shall inclose an address to me from the Philosophical Society in this place, which is the only one that I have received, and also the preface to the American edition of my Appeal.‡ Thompson superintends the office where it is printed§.

* Mr. Priestley says, "What had greater weight with him than any thing else was, that my mother, who had been harassed in her mind ever since the riots at Birmingham, thought that by living in the country, at a distance from the cities, she should be more likely to obtain that quiet of which she stood so much in need." *Continuation.*

† Mr. Winchester, on his return from England this year, (1794,) became the preacher. "His first introduction to Dr. Priestley," the late Mr. Titford thus describes:

"We went together to his house at Clapton; he was not at home. Mrs. Priestley said the Doctor wished much to see Mr. Winchester, and if we would call at the Rev. Mr. Palmer's at Hackney, we should find him there. We went, and were introduced to Mr. Palmer, Mr. Belsham, and Dr. Priestley, who received Mr. Winchester in a most friendly manner." M. R. VIII. 211.

‡ See W. XXV. 336.

§ *Orig. MS.*

TO MR. SAMUEL PARKER.

DEAR SIR,

Philadelphia, June 27, 1794.

YOUR very obliging proposal to send me any philosophical instrument that I had occasion for, when I last had the pleasure of seeing you, emboldens me to request that, in addition to the glass vessels with which your father has always been so good as to supply me, you would be so good as to procure me a M. De Luc's hygrometer. When I was at New York, I saw one in the hands of Dr. Mitchell, professor of chemistry in the college there, made by Mr. Blunt, which I liked very much. Before the riots in Birmingham, I had one made by M. De Luc himself,* and which he gave me. It is a most valuable instrument.

As far as I have seen of this country, I think I shall like it very well, and it promises to be a happy asylum during the troubles in Europe. But there is a great drawback in the expense of living here, which is higher than in London, the price of every thing having been doubled the last two years. On this account, and with a view to having more leisure, I think I shall settle in the back part of this state, at Northumberland, near the place where my sons are making their establishment. I shall prefer the climate of this country to that of England very much, especially as I hope that here I shall be able to make much more use of the excellent *burning lens* with which your father supplied me,† than I could ever have done in England.

People here are very anxious about the result of Mr. Jay's negociation.‡ They wish for peace, but are every where preparing for war, and in the back country hostilities seem to be breaking out not only with the Indians, but with the British, who are universally considered as their instigators, and those

* He died, 1817, aged 90. See his high respect for Dr. Priestley, amidst their disagreeing theology and metaphysics, W. III. 211, *notes*.

† See I. 216.

‡ “Nov. 19. A treaty of amity, commerce and navigation, was signed at London, by the Earl of Grenville and John Jay.” *Amer. Ann.* II. 401.

who supply them with arms and ammunition. In these parts the people are eager for war. I am one who wish for peace, and hope that in this case I may some time hence visit my native country, for which I shall always feel a very strong attachment.

With my best respects to your father, and gratitude for all his favours to me, I remain, dear Sir, yours sincerely.*

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.†

DEAR FRIEND,

Philadelphia, July 5, 1794.

I CANNOT describe the pleasing feeling I had on the sight of your hand-writing, after being so long without seeing it, and at this distance from you. Indeed, I was not aware that this single circumstance would have affected me as it did.

The letter I have received is dated May 6, and refers to another sent in a package, which is at New York, and which I do not expect to receive for three or four weeks, as, on Tuesday next, we propose to set out for Northumberland,‡ which is at a great distance from this place, and where is a post only

* *Orig.* MS., communicated by my friend Mr. Samuel Parker.

† Essex Street.

‡ “About the middle of July, 1794, my father left Philadelphia for Northumberland, a town situated at the confluence of the north-east and west branches of the Susquehannah, and about one hundred and thirty miles north-west of Philadelphia.” Mr. Priestley’s *Continuation*.

Mr. Bakewell, who arrived at Northumberland in the spring of 1795, says, “On each side of the opposite shores of the two branches, the mountains lift their towering heads, and preclude all prospect, but what their barren sides afford. From thence, turning our eyes down the river to the junction of its streams, which spread about a mile across, a sight, in some degree romantic and of pleasing aspect, strikes the view.

“At Northumberland, as in some other places in America which may probably rise to eminence, a plot of ground of considerable extent was laid out, divided into streets and building lots; but, at the time I was there, it did not contain more than a hundred houses. As a temporary residence, Dr. Priestley bought a small house, and fitted it up decently for himself, while one of considerable magnitude was building on a plot of land at the upper part of the town, on the north branch of the river. This house was very pleasantly situated, having two fronts; one towards the street, and the other towards the river, with a large garden and orchard.” M. R. I. 505.

once a week. This delay and uncertainty is a great trial of patience, longing, as I do, to hear from you and my other friends in England.

I shall be very glad to see Mr. Paley's work.* Mr. Martin will do well to observe in how different senses the phrase *beyond Jordan* is used in the books of Moses, Joshua, and Judges. I was particularly struck with it in my late reading of the Hebrew Bible.

I see every thing ripe for the propagation of Unitarianism in this city and New York, and I doubt not through this continent in general. But the first missionaries must have something else to depend upon for a subsistence, at least for some time, and the expense of living is excessively high, and this city would be to me very irksome. There is no such thing as taking a walk half a mile from the town, or by the river side. Excepting a square, adjoining to the State House, there is not, in or near this city, any thing like a plantation, or any thing else calculated for the pleasure, I may say the health, of the inhabitants. It is only a place for business, and to get money in.

I am told, and I believe it, that if I were to reside here, and open a course of lectures in chemistry, I should get money, and be able to live here. But I think that upon the whole I shall spend my time to better purpose if I live in the country, where I can have leisure for my pursuits, and spend a month or two in the winter or spring in this city or New York, and this my present funds will enable me to do. As to society, I am sure I shall find enough at Northumberland; but I am alarmed at the difficulty and expense of getting all my packages thither. There is no such thing as a made road in all this country, and the shaking of their best carriages, at the best state of the roads, is very great. But the next time that I write I shall be able to give you a better account of them.

I am reprinting my Letters to the Philosophers of France, prefixing to them my Observations on the Causes of the Prevalence of Infidelity. I hope to send you a copy with this

* "Evidences of Christianity," of which there was a judicious "Analysis," by Rev. Jeremiah Joyce. *N. A. Reg.* XV. [175]; XVI. [196]; M. R. XII. 704.

letter, as well as of my Fast and Farewell Sermon, and an edition of my Appeal to the Professors of Christianity, with a new preface.

Since I wrote the above, I have been inclined to take a house at Germantown, or within some miles' distance from this city. I can then preach almost constantly, and remove my apparatus, &c., with less trouble and expense; but I cannot determine till my return from Northumberland whither we go on Friday next. The rain that fell lately made travelling impossible on Tuesday.

I rejoice that Mr. Belsham goes on so well, especially in the lectures to young persons, though there was no reason to doubt it. But here is the great field for rational Christianity, and many labourers will soon be wanted. Many attend no public worship, merely because there is not any they can attend with satisfaction; and the disposition to infidelity produced by this circumstance, may, I am confident, be easily removed. I have no doubt but that my coming will be of great use in this respect. When I return from the country, a place will be ready for me; and the ministers, seeing how I am received, cannot conceal their alarm. They are, however, very civil.*

TO REV. T. BELSHAM.†

DEAR SIR,

Northumberland, Aug. 27, 1794.

I HAVE had great satisfaction from the sight of your letter by Mr. Davy. Living, as I do, at so great a distance from England, and even from the coast of America, I cannot describe the pleasure I receive from the letters of my friends in England, nor the longing I sometimes feel for an interview with them, especially Mr. Lindsey and yourself. I sometimes wish I were with you, and sometimes that you were with me here, and, as things now are, and I fear are like to be, I should prefer the latter.

I do not think there can be, in any part of the world, a more delightful situation than this and the neighbourhood,

* *Orig.* MS.

† Hackney College, near London.

and the conveniences of the place are improving daily. The climate I shall like much. The summer has been always tolerable, and, excepting not more than a week in all, most pleasing, and all agree that the finest time of the year is now approaching: but finer weather than we have had the last fortnight I never wish to see.

I have just now fixed upon a spot on which to build a house, and could I but see you, Mr. and Mrs. Lindsey, and a few friends from England, in it, I should be too happy. I have, however, had a long and severe seasoning, and it is what all Europeans must expect, before they can recover from the inconveniences of the voyage, and the difference of climate, mode of living, &c.; but now I am in perfectly good health, and am recovering my flesh and strength very fast; and I am eagerly setting to work, as much as my situation will admit; but I cannot do much till I get my books and instruments from Philadelphia.

Several things in your letter I read with pain, but I am above measure delighted with the account you give me of your success in the continuation of the lectures to young persons. Indeed, I had no doubt of its succeeding well in *your* hands, and I cannot wish you to have more satisfaction in it than I always experienced. At present, I have no opportunity of doing any thing of the kind; but I do not despair of it in time.

A month or six weeks in the spring I intend to pass in Philadelphia, where every thing is ready for a respectable Unitarian society; as is the case at New York. I do not despair of seeing a college on the most liberal principles established in this place,* and sometimes I give a little more scope to my

* "Soon after his settlement at Northumberland," says Mr. Priestley, "many persons, with a view that his qualifications as an instructor of youth should not be wholly lost to the country, concurred in a plan for the establishment of a college at Northumberland. To this scheme several subscribed from this motive alone. Many of the principal landholders, partly from the above, and partly from motives of interest, contributed largely both in money and land, and there was a fair prospect, from the liberal principles upon which it was founded, that it would have been of very great advantage to the country.

"My father was requested to draw up a plan of the course of study he

imagination, and fancy I may see *you* at the head of the institution, and then I should hardly have any thing more to wish for. We could take our walks along the banks of the Susquehannah, and ramble, as I often do, in the woods, as we used to do about Hackney. Here we should have no apprehension of powder sugar being mistaken for gunpowder, or metaphorical gunpowder for real.*

As I shall now fix here, and shall want all the books I can get, especially for the composition of my Church History, which I have taken up, I wish you would send all the books I left in your care, the first convenient opportunity, directed to Mr. John Vaughan, Philadelphia. I have no resources but in myself. I found Pike's Hebrew Lexicon among Harry's books. I use it much, as I daily read a great deal of Hebrew. I still find some things new in the books of the Old Testament, and have more satisfaction than ever in reading the Scriptures in general.

I have just got Paine's "Age of Reason," and think to answer it, in an additional "Letter to a Philosophical Unbeliever." I am printing here three additional "Letters to the Philosophers of France," on their admitting the immortality of the soul and rejecting Christianity. Paine's book will make much impression here, where there are many unbelievers; the lawyers, they say, almost universally.

would recommend, as well as the rules for the internal management of the institution, and he was appointed president. He, however, declined receiving any emolument, and proposed giving such lectures as he was best qualified for, *gratis*, in the same manner as he had done at Hackney, and he meant to have given to the institution the use of his library and apparatus, until the students could have been furnished with them by means of the funds of the college. In consequence of the failure of some of the principal contributors, the scheme fell through at that time, and little more was done during my father's life-time than to raise the shell of a convenient building." *Continuation.*

* See "Reflections on the Present State of Free Inquiry, 1785." I was present, with Dr. Priestley, in the House of Commons, March 28, 1787, when Sir W. Dolben, M. P. for Oxford University, was surprised into this mistake, while tremblingly alive to the perils of his Church, which has, since, enjoyed a long *respite*, though justice, policy, and *unworldly* Christianity may forbid a *reprieve*. See W. XVIII. 544, *ad fin.*; XIX. 143, 144.

My wife desires to be remembered to you and all your family. She has written the long letter that she promised. We often talk of you and regret our many pleasing interviews; but we must not choose our own lot. You will have a great loss in what we hope will be a gain to your sister.*

As I find Mr. Davy has brought me† some English newspapers, I hope they are the Cambridge ones that you were so good as to promise me. I should have great pleasure in perusing them, or the Morning Chronicle. How often do we say, We wonder how things now are in England, and what our friends are doing there!

I hope that both you and Mr. Lindsey will not fail to write often. All the accounts I receive convince me of the propriety of my leaving England. I only wish more of my friends were with me, though I sincerely wish well to my native country, and shall be most happy in paying it a visit, as I really intend, some time hence.

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.‡

DEAR FRIEND, *Northumberland, Sept. 14, 1794.*

I AM gratified with the receipt of a third letter from you, dated June 6; and at the same time have heard that the package from New York, containing the parcel and another letter, is on its way to Philadelphia, so that I hope to receive it soon.

Nothing can be more delightful, or more healthy, than this place; but, except the lawyers, all the people are wholly occupied in getting a living; and though they have some religion, they have much bigotry. If any of our friends should settle here, we should build a place of worship for ourselves, and, in time, others may join us.

* Her marriage with Mr. Kenrick, of Exeter, who, in 1804, "died suddenly, at Wrexham, in the midst of life." The "Memoirs of the Rev. Timothy Kenrick" were prefixed, in 1807, to his "Exposition of the Historical Writings of the New Testament," by Rev. John Kentish. See M. R. III. 57—66; XVII. 197.

† See *infra*, p. 278, note ||.

‡ Essex Street.

The professor of chemistry in the college of Philadelphia is supposed to be on his death-bed. In case of a vacancy, Dr. Rush thinks I shall be invited to succeed him. In this case, I must reside four months in the year in Philadelphia; and one principal inducement with me to accept of it will be the opportunity I shall have of forming an Unitarian congregation, in which I foresee no great difficulty. But I feel myself much weakened by something or other in this country, so as to have much less ability for public speaking than I had in England. When I preached here, I could hardly get through the service. I am, however, stronger now than I was then, and exercise might help me still more.

I have had an invitation both to give a course of lectures, and to form an Unitarian society at New York; but it is too far off to think of it. If I should be professor of chemistry at Philadelphia, it is probable I shall reside somewhere nearer to it than here. What brought me hither was the expectation of its being near the settlement that my son and Mr. Cooper were projecting, and behold that is all over.*

I have transcribed for the press my answer to Mr. Paine,† whose work is the weakest and most absurd, as well as the most arrogant, of any thing that I have yet seen. It is, however, much read here, and my answer much wished for.

I am much affected with the state of things, and the danger that my friends are in. Our last news is the taking of Bruges and Ghent, and, it is said, of Ostend, by the French.‡ We now hope we shall have no war with England, and the

* See *supra*, p. 239.

† See W. XXI. 110.

‡ “The beginning of July was fatal to the allies in every point. Lord Moira was dispatched to Ostend with the remains of the army which was to have established royalty in Brittany, and arrived only in time to assist at the evacuation of the place. By the capture of Ypres on the one side, and of Bruges on the other, the situation of his lordship was rendered critical. The French, in the mean time, were advancing upon Ghent in great force.

“It was determined immediately to evacuate Ostend. The inhabitants received the French with transports of joy; and the republican general, Van Damme, immediately convoked them, and desired them to choose provisional representatives. July 3, the republican army entered Ghent.” *N. A. Reg.* XV, 396, 397.

Indian war will not be much regarded.* The worst circumstance with respect to us is the opposition made to the excise laws.† A great force is raising to suppress the threatened insurrection, and I hope the law itself will be repealed. Too many bad things are brought from England hither. Among others, they have our poor laws, and in the great towns they already feel the inconvenience of them. Some are even advocates for a national debt,‡ and many other evils.

I took it for granted, Mr. Johnson would send me the *Analytical Review*, and I can see the *Monthly* when I go to Philadelphia; but I am not very anxious about it. I thank you much for the *Cambridge papers*. They have been a great feast for me.§ I shall hope to see more in due time. What great things are now depending in the course of Providence!||

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND, *Northumberland, Oct. 16, 1794.*

SINCE my last, I have received two of your letters, the very sight of which gives me a satisfaction that I cannot express, and could not have imagined beforehand.

The greatest inconvenience attending this situation is a want of a ready communication with Philadelphia. There are no stage-waggon; and the only method of sending heavy goods is by land in the waggon that carry corn to Middletown, on

* “1794, Aug. 20, General Wayne, in a general action on the banks of the Miami, gained a complete victory over the hostile Indians, who precipitately abandoned all their settlements. Their towns and villages were immediately burnt by the victorious army.

“1795, August, General Wayne concluded a treaty of peace with the chiefs. These Indians ceded large tracts of land. Goods to the amount of 20,000 dollars were now distributed among them, and they were to receive 8000 dollars annually.” *Amer. Ann.* II. pp. 400—402.

† “In 1791, Congress had enacted laws, laying duties upon spirits distilled within the United States, and upon stills. From the commencement of the operation of these laws, combinations were formed to defeat them, and violences were repeatedly committed,” especially “in July 1794.” *Ibid.* p. 399.

‡ See *supra*, p. 260, *note*, and the President’s last message to Congress.

§ See *supra*, p. 218.

|| *Orig. MS.*

the Susquehannah, and thence by water hither; and the water is so low at this time of the year, that it is not navigable. It is expected to rise a little towards the end of this month; but the best time for it is in the spring, and till midsummer; but then there are few waggons going to Middletown.

Inconvenient as this circumstance and some others make a residence in this place, I prefer it on the whole. Philadelphia is unpleasant, unhealthy, and intolerably expensive; and there I should have little command of my time. Here I can command the whole; and when I get my books and instruments, I hope to do as much as ever I have done. In the mean time, I am not idle. I have some books, and every day do something towards the continuation of my Church History. I shall finish the next period, which will carry the History to the rise of Mahometanism, in about a month, tasking myself every day. My materials will not carry me much farther.

I never read so much Hebrew as I have since I left England. I have nearly finished all the Old Testament, and I never read it with so much satisfaction, especially the prophecies, which I am now attending to. I think I shall read more or less of the Hebrew Bible as long as I live; and shall, when I get my Polyglots, and other helps, take much pleasure in translating more than I undertook before. Having leisure for miscellaneous reading, I have read almost the whole of Tacitus,* which I had not done before, and I admire him more than I expected. I shall read many of the best ancient writers, especially the historians, when I get my library.

I have nearly printed the Continuation of my Letters to the Philosophers and Politicians of France, and to a Philosophical Unbeliever; the latter in answer to Mr. Paine's Age of Reason, which is much read, and has made great impression here; nor will you wonder at it, when you consider what kind of Christianity is preached here. I am told that the Quakers read it with great avidity, and they have no knowledge at all of the proper evidence of Christianity, or the doctrines of it. Many of them, therefore in this country, either actually are, or are

* Early recommended to his attention. See I. 10.

easily made unbelievers. There are great expectations, I am told, from my answer to Paine, and I hope it will do good.

I told you that when I came hither, I was asked to preach at the Presbyterian meeting-house; but though I am sure I said nothing which could give any Christian just offence, they never asked me again,* and I have contented myself with reading a sermon in my own house.† Yesterday, however, the officer of a company of soldiers who are passing this way, requested me to preach to them, and they got the use of the meeting-house, and some of the people of the place attended; but little can be done before I get a place to myself, which, if a few persons from England join us, will soon be accomplished, especially if the college be established here, and of this no doubt is now entertained;‡ and the person whose property the greatest part of the town is, has consented to give the ground to build it on. We therefore hope to have the buildings raised the next year, and begin some business, when I hope to be of some use. In the spring, however, I shall go to Philadelphia, and preach a sermon, which I have already composed and transcribed, from *Acts* xvii. 18—20;§ but I want your cool judgment in this and all my other compositions. I feel myself as a ship without a rudder.

* “When Dr. Priestley preached in the Presbyterian chapel, one of the ministers was so displeased thereat, that he declared if they permitted him any more, he would never enter into the pulpit again.” Mr. Bakewell, *M. R. I.* 396. See *supra*, p. 257, *note* *.

† “As I had never heard a proper Unitarian discourse, it became an object of curiosity to me to hear one. I believe I went regularly to hear him on a Lord’s-day morning through the summer. (1795.) His discourses were usually practical, easy to be understood, and reducible to common life. In his prayers he was devout, and free from the error which many fall into, of multiplying words, when addressing the Divine Being, as though he wanted information.

“Since the death of this venerable disciple of Jesus Christ, I have sometimes been led to wonder that some persons, to the dishonour of Christianity, should treat his faith as no better than that of an heathen, and as unable to afford him any more ground of certainty respecting his future state in his dying moments, than theirs. A man more satisfied with the dispensations of Divine Providence I never saw, nor one that had imbibed more of the spirit of Christianity.” Mr. Bakewell, *M. R. I.* 394, 395.

‡ See *supra*, p. 271, *note*.

§ See *W. XV.* 475.

The last news we had from Europe, the French were in Brussels,* and we have an obscure account of their having taken St. Sebastian's in Spain.† We often wish to know what is doing in England, but we must wait with patience. We are without disturbance here. The excise law has been opposed by force, and the President is marched with 15,000 men, and we hear that the insurgents are already dispersed.‡ After this, I hope we shall be quiet.

We still are not without apprehension of a war with England,§ which will affect both countries very much, and I wish well to both. We have had the yellow fever in many places, but all on the coast, though in the autumn there is much of the ague, especially near rivers. This is reckoned one of the healthiest places in all America.

With respects to all friends, especially Mrs. Rayner, I am yours and Mrs. Lindsey's most affectionately.

P. S. My wife enjoys good health, and desires to be remembered to you.||

* Which they entered, July 15. *N. A. Reg.* XV. 399.

† "Aug. 2. A single division of the French army seized the port of the Passage. On the 3d, St. Sebastian was invested, and capitulated on the succeeding morning. The garrison (2000 men) surrendered prisoners of war. More than 180 pieces of brass cannon were taken, with considerable magazines and stores; and after the reduction of these places, two Spanish ships, laden with powder and ball, wine and cod-fish, entered the port of the passage." *Ibid.* p. 413.

‡ The President issued a proclamation, Sept. 25. *Ibid.* p. 112. "Governor Lee, appointed to conduct the militia army, marched 1500 men into the western counties of Pennsylvania. The insurgents laid down their arms, solicited the clemency of government, and promised future submission to the laws." *Amer. Ann.* II. 399.

§ See *supra*, p. 267, *ad fin.*

|| *Orig.* MS. inclosing a paper in the hand-writing of Dr. Toulmin, entitled "Extracts from Mr. William Davy's Journal of his Voyage, &c., to America." (See *supra*, p. 273.) Mr. Davy writes,

"1794, Oct. 2. Dr. Priestley visited us at Sunbury, looks well and cheerful, has left off his perriwig, and combs his short grey locks, in the true style of the simplicity of the country. He is on the whole so well pleased, that he is preparing to build a very good brick house, the foundation of which, and a well, he has already dug.

"Oct. 3. Dined very pleasantly with Dr. Priestley. He has bought a lot of eleven acres, (exclusively of that which he is building on,) which

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND, *Northumberland, Nov. 12, 1794.*

THE uncertainty there must now be in the conveyance of letters to England, is a most unpleasant and distressing circumstance; but the stop that will be put, in a great measure, to emigration, is more afflicting still.

We have been much affected by the capture of Mr. Russell, when we were every day expecting to see him.* All that can be done here to procure his release has been done; and I hope that in consequence of the representations that have been made on the subject, it will sooner or later be effected. As soon as I heard of it, I wrote to the French minister, with whom I am acquainted, particularly to shew the connexion of his case with my own, and the gratification that it would be to the English ministry that such a person as Mr. Russell should suffer as he has done.

commands a delightful view of all the rivers, and both towns, i. e. Sunbury and Northumberland, and the country. It cost him 100*l.* currency.

"Oct. 12. Dr. Priestley, being requested by the officers and many principal inhabitants, preached to the troops in the Presbyterian meeting, (where he had once before preached,) on a general subject, but composed an excellent prayer for the occasion, and was well attended to, though it is unusual to hear preaching with notes.

"Oct. 13. Dr. Priestley appears perfectly pleased with this situation; and having a printing press close by him, is a great satisfaction and entertainment. He is now printing a Sequel to his Letters to the French Philosophers, and an Answer to Paine's Age of Reason, a book much read in this country. He is very anxious for the arrival here of his books and apparatus, and they are coming by water, that he may resume his favourite studies; but still more anxious to get society, that he may again pursue his principal object, by public instruction in a place of worship, and by lectures to youth, as well as the establishment of a public seminary; and he declares that he would happily engage in them, without any prospect of fee or pecuniary reward.

"The Doctor enjoys a game at whist; and although he never hazards a farthing, is highly diverted with playing good cards, but never ruffled by bad ones."

* Mr. Russell had "embarked with his family, two daughters and a son, in August, 1794. He did not, however, arrive in America till September, 1795, having been taken prisoner soon after his sailing from Falmouth, by a French squadron, and detained in Brest Harbour, notwithstanding the immediate intercession of the American minister." M. R. XIII. 153, 154.

The power of the French at sea appears to us most astonishing, after their loss of so many ships of war. Indeed, the present state of things confounds all speculation. A new state of things is certainly about to take place, and some important prophecies, I believe, are about to be fulfilled. The late events, and my continued attention to the prophecies, make me see this in a stronger light than I did when I wrote my Fast Sermon.* Many more of the prophecies than I was then aware of indicate the great destruction that will be made of mankind before the restoration of the Jews. See particularly *Is.* xxiv. 26, &c., xxxiv. 60, 63, &c., lxiii. 6; *Jer.* xxv. 30, &c., xlvii. 28, li. 20. The destruction of kings seems to be particularly mentioned, *Is.* xxiv. &c. I shall perhaps republish that sermon, with farther remarks, or write something larger on the subject.

I have made some important additions to my "Observations on the Causes of Infidelity," and think to publish it as a separate tract. I hope you will receive with this some copies of additional "Letters to the Philosophers and Politicians of France." and my answer to Mr. Paine, which I find is well received in this country. I shall soon print an edition on better paper.

I have just received an invitation to the professorship of chemistry at Philadelphia, and for some time was determined to accept of it, chiefly on account of the opportunity it would give me of forming an Unitarian congregation in that city; but when I considered that I must then pass four months of every year from home, my heart failed me, and I declined it. If my books and apparatus had been at Philadelphia, I might have acted differently; but part of them are now arrived here, and the remainder I expect in a few days, and the expense and risk of the conveyance of such things from Philadelphia hither is so great, that I cannot think of taking them back. Besides, there are many circumstances in favour of my residing in this place. The situation is very pleasant; the climate much better

* "Feb. 28, 1794. The present State of Europe compared with ancient Prophecies." See W. XV. 519.

than in or near Philadelphia. I can live at half the expense, and I have much more leisure for my pursuits; and in a year or two, I doubt not, we shall have a college established here.* As to Unitarianism, it is, I perceive, greatly promoted by my coming hither, and the circulation of my publications, and probably in a more effectual way than it would have been done by my acting more openly. However, I shall have a place of worship here, and shall prepare sermons for delivery at Philadelphia when I go thither, which will be in the spring, when I propose to go as far as Boston.†

I lately had a very distinct dream about meeting you and Mr. Belsham, together with Mrs. Lindsey, in the streets of London. You were not able to speak, and I only said, I am come to see you, and when you know my reasons, you will not blame me; when I awoke, and the pleasing illusion was no more. My great consolation is in the consideration of an over-ruling Providence, which has fixed me here, and I hope for some good purpose; and whether more or less pleasing to myself, is not of much consequence, considering the short time I can expect to live.

Reading, as I now do, much about the monks, with a view to my Church History, I often compare my situation with theirs, and think that, remote as I live from the busy world, my condition is greatly preferable to theirs, and especially that my pursuits are more rational, and of course attended with more satisfaction. In one thing, however, the effect, I fancy, is the same, that it renders a man more indifferent about life. I long to meet my most valued friends, and that, with respect to many of them, can only be on the other side of the grave. But to meet them to advantage, we must strenuously do all the good we can on this side of it. Earnestly wishing to meet, and never to be separated from, you and Mrs. Lindsey, I am most affectionately yours.‡

* See *supra*, p. 271, *ad fin.*

† Whither Mr. Adams had invited him (*supra*, p. 234, *ad fin.*) It does not, however, appear that Dr. Priestley ever visited New England, or, indeed, travelled, except to Philadelphia.

‡ *Orig. MS.*

TO REV. T. BELSHAM.*

DEAR SIR,

Northumberland, Dec. 14, 1794.

I AM indeed exceedingly shocked at your account of the infidelity of Mr. ———, especially after what I had just before read concerning him in a letter from Mr. Lindsey.

When I saw him, I spoke to him in confidence, as a Christian brother, and particularly asked him whether it was true that Mr. ——— had written any thing on the subject of *infidelity* before he left England. I also expressed my great concern that *he* should have given up all thoughts of preaching, when he was so young and able, and told him that I had recommended him to my friends in New York as an Unitarian minister.

Nothing that he said on the occasion could have led me to suspect his change of sentiment, but I recollect a coldness and reserve in his answers, which, though it did not strike me at the time, very well agrees with your account of him. I also thought that he avoided me, choosing to remain at Sunbury, rather than Northumberland, for the trifling reason that they were better accommodated at the inn there.

Mr. ——— was at my son's, and in a long conversation I had with him in a walk, he, for the first time with me, avowed himself an unbeliever, and I think on the weakest of all grounds, viz. the want of sufficient authenticity of the books of scripture, saying that Moses could not be the writer of Deuteronomy, &c. &c., when the great *facts* to be accounted for, viz. the reception of the miracles at the time by persons indisposed to receive them, are independent of the authenticity of any particular books. To account for the belief of the Jews, he only said it was in the power of *priests* to make the common people believe any thing. This conversation led me to write a section on the power of the Jewish and Christian priests, which I shall add to the next edition of my "Causes of the Prevalence of Infidelity." Never was any thing advanced more at random, or with less colour from the state of facts.

* New College, Hackney.

In this part of the country I find nothing but the extremes of infidelity and bigoted orthodoxy. Whether I shall do any good here I cannot tell. If I do, it will be slowly and silently. But I have leisure for my pursuits, at least *shall* have when my house is built, which, if all be well, will be in the course of the next summer. Being set down here, and having got my books, &c., about me, I cannot now remove again, and I hope it will some time or other appear to have been for the best. It is a pleasant and healthy spot, far preferable to any thing on or near the coast, and from its situation must some time hence be a considerable place. A college, I have little doubt, will be fixed here, and I hope soon. I was invited in the most respectful manner* to accept of the chemical chair at the college in Philadelphia,† and should have liked the employment, and still more the opportunity it would have given me of opening an Unitarian meeting; but I must have spent four months of every year, and that in winter, in Philadelphia.‡

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.§

DEAR FRIEND, *Northumberland, Dec. 20, 1794.*

I AM always affected, more than I can express, by the sight of your letters, and since my last I have received two, the latter the first. With the other, received yesterday, came the various packets in the box from New York, and by other later conveyances, which furnish a feast that will not be soon exhausted. I shall, I am confident, have much satisfaction in reading Mr. Paley's work;|| but my son and daughter-in-law have requested the first reading of it.

We have bought about 300 acres of the cheaper kind of land. Harry has taken a fancy to it, and so he is to have it, and to enter upon it next spring. It is yet to clear; but it is full of

* "By an unanimous vote of the trustees," says Mr. Priestley.

† "This offer," says Mr. Belsham, "was declined, much to the regret of many of Dr. Priestley's friends at the time; but, as there is now reason to believe, not with any eventual detriment to the cause of Christian truth." *Mem. of Lindsey*, p. 388, *ad fin.*

‡ *Orig. MS.*

§ Essex Street.

|| "View of the Evidences of Christianity." See *supra*, p. 269, *ad fin.*

good timber, which will almost pay for the clearing. The purchase was not quite thirty shillings an acre.

Though I am far from being so happy as I was at Hackney, near you and Mr. Belsham, I have a tolerable prospect of being more comfortable when I have got my house built; but I foresee much trouble, as well as expense, attending it. My instruments must remain unpacked, at least in a great measure, till then, and my books are chiefly in a barn and a garret, so that it is not very easy to come at them all. In this respect, however, I do pretty well, and by doing my different tasks every day, have the satisfaction of thinking I do some business, without which I should have little enjoyment of life.

I shall get well acquainted with the Hebrew Bible, a large portion of which I read the first thing every morning, and I give some hours every day to my Church History. The great number of unbelievers here will keep up my attention to the evidences of revelation, and I think I may perhaps add another part to my Letters to a Philosophical Unbeliever, on the subject of prophecy. I like Bicheno's idea of the seven thunders meaning the seven wars which have taken place since the conquests of the Turks, but there is little else that I admire in him. I have had some of the same thoughts that Mr. Garnham has entertained; but I cannot say that they give me the same satisfaction that they do him, and I think he hazards a great deal in foretelling the duration and the issue of the present war against the French. I am endeavouring to settle my opinion of the most probable interpretations of the principal prophecies in Daniel and the Revelation, and when I have done it, shall write to you more fully on the subject. I have no satisfaction like that which attends the study of the Scriptures.

Since I wrote last, I have a prospect of being employed as a preacher here. I have a service every Lord's day at my son's house; and several persons, the most respectable in the place, have desired to attend, and even, I hear, talk of building a place of worship for me. To this I shall contribute pretty largely myself, and shall feel most happy in being so employed and in instructing such young persons as will attend me but the

ignorance and the bigotry of the generality of people here is very great. I believe I have gained their esteem, and shall succeed the better in consequence of my having lain by for some time, and not discovered too much zeal. I shall not fail to inform you of the progress I may make in this business, which I have most at heart. I hope, too, that we shall succeed in establishing a college here; but it will require some time to do this.

I have great pleasure in reading the Cambridge Intelligencer, which you are so good as to send me. It is all the English newspaper that I see. If I can forward it without expense, I shall certainly send the packet to Mr. Toulmin; but he is as much out of the world to us as he is to you, and the post is very tedious and expensive; but we shall endeavour to get it reduced by setting up a coach. We now depend on private conveyance by travellers for small things, and large things can only come at certain times of the year, except at an enormous price.

I once thought of living at German Town, but, besides that it is far from being a pleasant place, it is dearer living there than in Philadelphia. Mr. Davy, who is there, is obliged to buy even his fire-wood at Philadelphia, and that is almost ten times as dear as it is here.

We have hardly any frost yet, and there is a great flood in the river. It was never before known to be so mild at this late season. With all our best respects, yours and Mrs. Lindsey's most affectionately.

TO MR. G. CLARK.*

DEAR SIR,

Northumberland, Dec. 22, 1794.

I THANK you for your letter and poem, the sentiments of which are excellent; and I thank you for the compliment you have paid me; but I think you write prose better than verse. I fear, however, that neither prose nor verse will stop the course of the war in which you are fatally engaged.

* Attorney at Law, Brentford.

After seeing Mr. Cooper's book,* you cannot want any information that I can give you respecting this country; and knowing the facts, you must advise yourself. It is too hazardous for another to give it, especially where so much is depending, as with you. I can only apprize you of one thing, of which you may not perhaps be sufficiently aware, viz. that much money will unavoidably be sunk in the passage, and living in any manner here, till you have looked out for a farm; for I would not advise any person to take one without having seen it himself. Two hundred pounds is the least that would go in this way. Living in Philadelphia, or any of the great towns, is more expensive than in London, and, with every advantage, very irksome to a person accustomed to English modes. To me the difference was much more than I was aware of.

But, supposing a person actually here, and willing to *labour* in any way whatever, he will be twice as well off as in England. He will find immediate employment, and good wages. We could take all the servants, mechanics, and handicraftmen, that England could furnish; but if a man or his family must live without actual labour, he will starve. Farming will not answer, if the labour be all hired. On this account, all farms are small, sufficient to maintain families in abundance with necessaries, but nothing more. All the money a man gets he employs in speculation, chiefly now in buying land, with a view to selling again, or in merchandise.

If, on this view of things, you should think it worth your while to come over, I should be very happy to have you near me; but in this place there is no scope for farming, or at present any thing else, though some time hence I think this is so situated as to promise considerable things with respect to traffic, though the expense and trouble of getting hither is greater than you can well imagine. I came with a view of being near a large settlement of emigrants, which is now given up; but being here, and having all my books, &c., with me, I cannot remove any more. Indeed, I had not the means of subsisting at Phila-

* "Advice to those who would remove to America."

delphia, without more exertion than at my time of life I am well capable of. Though my time here is far from passing so agreeably as it did in England, I am very thankful for such an asylum; and all the accounts I have from England make me more satisfied with my lot, though not a very enviable one. In time, however, I hope to have some employment, in which I may be once more useful and happy. With every good wish, I am, dear Sir, yours sincerely.*

TO REV. SAMUEL PALMER.†

DEAR SIR,

I HAVE not yet had the pleasure of seeing your son, though I am in daily expectation of it. This is one inconvenience attending my distance from Philadelphia; but then there are many more than equivalent advantages in this country place. It is not near so expensive, and much more healthy. Indeed, I never saw a town I liked less than Philadelphia. My friends in England wonder that I did not accept the offer of the professorship of chemistry in the university there; but they cannot see all the circumstances. I was at one time inclined to it, but it was solely with a view to the forming of an Unitarian congregation there. And I still mean to spend about two months there every winter, with that view, at least to deliver a set of discourses on the evidences of Christianity, and other interesting subjects, and a place is provided for the purpose.

Here, though I have little society, I have leisure for my pursuits, and I endeavour to make the most of it. At present I apply very closely to the continuation of my Church History, which I hope to finish in about two years. It was late before I got my books hither; and now I am crowded with all my books and instruments in one room, though a large one. Something, however, I contrive to do in my experiments, and I have more advantages in this respect than you could easily imagine in this remote place.‡ I want hardly any thing but a

* *Orig.* MS. among Mr. Lindsey's papers. † Hackney. See I. 189.

‡ Mr. Priestley says, "He found at Northumberland several excellent workmen in metals, who could repair his instruments, and make all the new

glass house. As to any instruments of consequence, I must have had them from England, had I lived in Philadelphia.

I cannot just now find the letter you were so good as to write to me, or I would answer it more particularly. I do assure you I cannot help looking back with some regret on the time I spent at Hackney, though I find every thing in this country to exceed my expectations, and we have many capital advantages that are nowhere else to be found—a free government, no church establishment, no tithe, no poor, and almost no taxes, and a climate greatly indeed superior to yours.

But I want my *friends*, and such society as I have been accustomed to. We do, however, pretty well in this respect, and hope to do better every year. I am expecting Mr. Russell from France, and though I cannot expect that he will live always here, he will probably reside here some part of the year. Here we enjoy the great blessing of peace, which I earnestly wish you had. The treaty is generally disliked here, so that many persons think it will not be ratified without so many restrictions as will make it rejected by England. I hope, however, there will be no war between the two countries. It would be very hurtful to both. If there should be a general peace, how happy should I be to pay you a visit before I leave the world! and sometimes I do not despair of this, though I should probably find things so changed as to have but little enjoyment of it. I therefore endeavour to look forward to a better and more permanent state of existence. While we live, I shall always be glad to hear from you.

P. S. I beg to be respectfully mentioned to Mr. Lister.* I shall never forget the many agreeable hours I spent at his house with you and other friends.†

articles he wanted, as well as, (he used to say,) if not in some respects better, than he could have got them done in Birmingham. *Continuation.*

* Of Hackney, where he died, at an advanced age, a few years since. He was brother to the late Dr. Lister.

Among other reliefs to the affliction of blindness, which Mr. Lister had suffered for many years, he entertained at his house, weekly, an evening party, among whom I have often shared very agreeable society.

† Obliging communicated, from the original, by Mr. Palmer's son.

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.*

DEAR FRIEND, *Northumberland, Jan. 19, 1795.*

WE are now in the depth of winter, the cold much greater than ever I knew it in England. It has been 3 below 0 of Fahrenheit. This morning I found it 1 below 0, and in the night it had been 2, and yet it is much more tolerable than the cold with you, and the day as pleasant as in summer. Till the end of December the weather was quite mild and warm; now the river is nearly frozen, and it is expected to continue so about a month or six weeks, when the warm weather comes on pretty suddenly, and continues all the remainder of the year, so that now we have had both the extremes of heat and cold in this climate, and a pretty clear idea of what it will be in the whole course of the year; and certainly it is greatly superior to that of England.

We shall very soon have a better communication with Philadelphia, and a diminution of our heavy postage, as well as a quicker conveyance. At present we are nearly a week later with respect to intelligence than they are at Philadelphia; and as there have been no late arrivals from England, and few ships expected at this time of the year, we suffer a good deal from impatience to know what is passing in Europe, and especially in England. The last accounts we had brought us to the speech of the judge on the trial of Mr. Tooke,† and this we had near a month ago, and I cannot express my anxiety on the subject; and we had reports, but nothing certain, of the French taking possession of Rotterdam or Amsterdam.‡ I am only easy in the persuasion of a wise and benevolent Provi-

* Essex Street.

† Which commenced Nov. 17, 1794, and concluded by an acquittal, the 21st. Mr. Thelwall's trial succeeded, Dec. 6, and on the 10th he was acquitted. *N. A. Reg.* XV. 63—66.

‡ "Jan. 19, 1795, Amsterdam was taken possession of by thirty French Hussars. The tree of liberty was immediately planted in all the great squares. The inhabitants mounted unanimously the tri-coloured cockade, and a revolutionary committee was chosen. On the following day, General Pichegru entered, at the head of 5000 men. The whole was conducted in

dence, though it is impossible not to feel great concern for one's friends, and even one's country, as such, whatever we may think of the government, or governors of it. The more I think on the subject, the more I am persuaded that the calamitous times foretold in the Scriptures are at hand; and I fear they will be of long continuance, and that England has much to dread from them. I am now giving much attention to the prophecies; but I do not see my way so clearly as I wish. I think Mr. Bicheno's conjecture about the seven thunders a very happy one.* Mr. Garnham's application of *Rev. xii. 13*, had occurred to me, but I am not quite satisfied with it; and I rather think that Antichrist means any visible power, as that of the Pope, than usurpations of power in the Greek Emperors, &c., according to Mr. Evanson. With respect to prophecies allowed to be accomplished, my chief difficulty respects the 11th of Daniel. It is indeed a most difficult chapter. Could I see my way through that, I think I should write on the subject. I have now no great satisfaction except in theological studies, but this increases daily.

I do not think I told you that I wear my own hair.† Every the most peaceable manner. Not a drop of blood was shed, nor any thing like persecution instituted for any political opinion

“The liberty and independence of the United Provinces were immediately proclaimed by the sanction of the French general. The citizens were called together, to appoint, by a free and general election, new magistrates. Leyden and Haarlem immediately followed the example of Amsterdam.” *N. A. Reg.* XVI. 176, 177.

* See *supra*, p. 284. Mr. Bicheno was a Baptist minister at Newbury, who had published, 1794, “The Signs of the Times; or the Overthrow of Papal Tyranny in France the prelude of Destruction to Popery and Despotism.” A contemporary critic says,

“Whatever may be thought of the author's success in the application of the prophecies of this obscure book, he certainly discovers great ingenuity, and a commendable attention in studying the symbolical language of his original. The reflections likewise with which he concludes his work, on the predominant motives to the present crusade against a people struggling for liberty, and the unaffected fervour which breathes in his exhortations to a speedy political and moral reformation, are honourable testimonies to his seriousness and liberality.” *N. A. Reg.* XV. [183].

† See *supra*, p. 278, note ||. Mr. Bakewell, who was introduced to Dr. Priestley at Northumberland, in the spring of 1795, has thus described his first impressions:

body here does. Nobody here could make or dress a wig.* A worse change is, that I am losing my fore teeth, which will affect my speech. All these changes precede the great one,

“I found him a man rather below the middle size, straight and plain, wearing his own hair; and in his countenance, though you might discern the philosopher, yet it beamed with so much simplicity and freedom, as made him very easy of access.” M. R. I. 394.

An engraving of Dr. Priestley in his own hair was prefixed, in 1803, to his *Notes on Scripture*. The plate is now in the possession of Mr. W. Matthews. Another engraving, by Partridge, from a painting taken in America by Stuart, was prefixed, in 1815, to *Mon. Repos.* Vol. X. The original of the engraving, in 1794, which generally accompanies the print of Dr. Price, was disposed of according to a project, the original of which is now before me.

“The portrait of Dr. Priestley, taken just before he left England, and from which the print was engraved by Holloway, is now in the possession of the painter, Mr. Artaud. The price of it framed is fifteen guineas. That sum it is proposed to raise by a subscription of one guinea each person, and to present the picture to Dr. Williams’s Library.”

* Such arts must have been practised, however imperfectly, in another part of America, about the middle of a former century. The justly celebrated John Eliot, of Boston, thus complains:

“It seemeth men may be said in some respects to be even bewitched with fashions, when they will disguise and dishonour their own bodies rather than not to be fashioned like the world. They will cut off their own beards, and old men cut off all gravity that nature and grey hairs would honour them withal, and cover the honour of their grey heads with counterfeited and youthful periwigs, as if all the grave affairs of the land were managed by green-headed youth; an evil it seems in *Tertullian’s* time, elegantly and earnestly scorned by him. To such he writes, ‘We youthfulize our heads, as if that were our eternity.’

“If you be not ashamed of the enormity, be ashamed of the pollution. Vex not an holy and Christian head with the periwig, and refuse of another man’s hair: it may be a filthy person, perhaps a wicked man, ordained to damnation. Cast off from your free heads this slavish excrement; and oh to be lamented! they say the pulpits are much of the same guise.

“Sundry come over hither from *England* in such dresses, that the sight of our eyes might move us to lay to heart the sins of *England*, and yet sundry of ours, yea, of the more ungirt sort of professors too, are more ready to imitate than bewail them; and were not such sins cried against by some, there be that would spare no cost to shew their frothy minds by such flags, when it were far better to be bestowed in paying their debts: but Christ hath his pretious ones among us, who do continually bewail and resist these things.”

See Eliot’s “*Conjectures touching the Americans*,” prefixed to Thorowgood’s “*Jews in America, 1660*,” *ad fin.*

which the various changes in my life, and especially the last, make me consider as not undesirable. Then my present state of exile, for so I consider it, from all that I hold dear, will be over.

P. S. I thank you for Mr. Paley's work,* and like it much. I shall endeavour to get it printed here.†

TO MR. SAMUEL PARKER.

DEAR SIR,

Northumberland, Jan. 20, 1795.

LIVING, as I do, at a considerable distance from Philadelphia, and this being a time of the year in which all communication by water is cut off, I have not yet received your kind present of glass ware, which, however, I hear is safely arrived. I am sending a sly, which is our best method of conveyance in winter, to fetch them, and other things that are waiting for me. We shall soon have a stage-coach and stage-waggon to this place, which will remove one of the greatest inconveniences we labour under.

I shall very thankfully, by Mr. Johnson, pay for the *hygrometer*, or any thing else that you shall be so good as to purchase for me. And as you are pleased to say you will supply me with any vessel, for the use of my experiments, made of glass, I shall take the liberty to inform you, that that part of my apparatus (which was very complete) has suffered exceedingly in its conveyance hither, owing chiefly to injudicious packing, large thin glasses having been filled with smaller without sufficient stuffing, so that the *shades*, or *bell-glasses*, with which your father liberally supplied me, are almost all broken, and more than half of the *jars* of my electrical *batteries*. If you will be so kind as to replace *these*, you will do me a most acceptable service. My jars were twelve inches deep and four wide; but others that will go within them will do just as well, and lessen the bulk of the package.

I have lost also the *receiver for the guinea and feather*, and a set of glass tubes with large bulbs at the end, which I used in

* See *supra*, p. 269.

† Orig. MS.

the experiments I last published on the generation of air from water, the stems about half an inch wide, and thirty inches long, and the bulb made to hold a quart or two quarts of water. They were made for me at Russell's glass-house. Some of those with smaller bulbs are preserved.

This place is inconveniently situated for carrying on my experiments; but living here is cheap, and the climate, &c., uncommonly fine, and my sons are settling in farms about me. It is now the depth of winter, and the thermometer sometimes (though only in the night) below 0 of Fahrenheit. It is pleasanter in the day than your summer, and we had nothing like winter till the beginning of this month. But our great advantage arises from a happy constitution of government, and a state of *peace*, in consequence of which the country enjoys an unexampled state of prosperity, the advancement in population, and improvements of all kinds, being beyond any thing that the world ever saw before. I earnestly wish your situation and prospects were as good. For though I have found a happy *asylum* here, I consider it in no other light. I feel myself as in a state of *exile*, and my best wishes are for my native country and my friends there.

With every good wish to your father and yourself, I am yours sincerely.*

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.†

DEAR FRIEND,

Northumberland, Feb. 10, 1795.

WITH great pleasure I have just received yours of the 27th of October, together with Mr. Belsham's. It is the greatest satisfaction that I have in this place. How often do I think of the hours I have spent by your fire-side, and with Belsham at your tea, on Sundays!‡ Those times will never return. But I hope the time will come, (and cannot be far distant,) when we shall meet to part no more. My separation from you makes me think more of this than I ever did before. I do not, however, think it impossible but that I may see several of

* *Orig.* MS See *supra*, p. 267.

† Essex Street.

‡ See *supra*, p. 118, *ad fin.*

my much-valued friends, though not yourself, on this side the water; and that, in two or three years, I may even visit others of them in England. By that time it may be hoped that your public affairs will be settled some way or other; and there are so many righteous there, that I hope the calamity that may be impending over it will be mitigated.

You will perceive that I am still meditating on the subject of prophecy. It occupies much of my thoughts and my reading. I also put down what occurs to me, though I have by no means got so much light on it as I wish for. The present times, however, by turning the attention of many serious and ingenious persons to the subject, may be expected to produce something valuable.

I bought, when I was in England, a Latin tract, by Increase Mather, of Boston, on the Second Coming of Christ.* I think I told you I thought it something extraordinary for the time in which it was written. I sometimes think to translate it, and subjoin to it some observations of my own on the subject, if I can at all please myself with what I shall write. Being a production of this country, and probably not all known here, it might be acceptable. But I have not yet come to any fixed resolution about it.†

I think myself highly obliged to you for Paley's three

* "Diatriba, de signo Filii Hominis, et de secundo Messiae adventu, *Amstel.* 1682, 8vo;" according to *Wood's* enumeration of the author's works, whom he thus describes among the sons of Richard Mather:

"Increase, or, as he writes in his Latin books, *Crescentius Matherus*, born at Dorchester, N. E., educated in *Harwarden* College, in Cambridge, there; thence, after six years standing, removed to Ireland, where, in Trinity College, near Dublin, he proceeded M. A., 1658, aged about 19 years. In 1661, he returned to his native country, was elected president of the college wherein he had been educated, Anno 1661, and in May 1688 he came into England, to acquaint king James II. from the principal gentlemen in N. E., the state of his subjects in that territory, whose liberties and properties were then invaded in an intolerable manner.

"This person is also now, or at least was lately, pastor of a church at Boston, in his native country." *Athen. Oxon.*, (1692,) II. 306.

Increase Mather, D. D., died, 1723, aged 84. "He had been a preacher 66 years, and a minister of the same church in Boston 62 years." *Amer. Ann.* II. 95.

† The proposed translation, I apprehend, was never executed.

volumes.* I have read them with the greatest satisfaction. Mr. Cooper has read the first volume, and says it is very valuable. How he will be impressed by the whole, is uncertain. I am enlarging my Observations on the Causes of Infidelity, and am assisted in this, indirectly, by the conversations I sometimes have with Mr. Cooper on the subject. I intend to publish them with a complete edition of my Letters to the Philosophers of France. I hope that before you will receive this, you will have had copies of every thing I have printed here, though I find the sending of them has been neglected, in consequence of Mr. Vaughan being absent on the Western expedition, which you will find has terminated happily, and without bloodshed.† I rejoice exceedingly that every thing is settled between this country and yours.‡

The parcel for Mr. Toulmin, containing money, was not sent immediately, on account of the road to Kentucky not being reckoned safe. Kentucky is in another world with respect to this part of the country. If we get a college here, I hope we shall get him for a tutor.§

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND, *Northumberland, Feb. 22, 1795.*

I AM just gratified with the receipt of three of your letters, accompanying some Cambridge papers and Morning Chronicles, which also were both very acceptable. The pleasure I always receive from your letters is more than I can express, their value being sensibly enhanced by our distance, and I fear the increasing improbability of having any other intercourse on this side the grave.

You are concerned, as I expected you would be, at my fixing in this place, so much out of the world, as you naturally take it to be; but had you been here, you would not, I think, have advised me to do any other than I have done, distant as it is from my original views. The acceptance of the chemical

* See *supra*, p. 269.

† See *supra*, p. 278, note †.

‡ See *supra*, p. 267, *ad fin.*

§ Orig. MS.

professorship would have obliged me to spend four months of the year at Philadelphia.

As to my usefulness in other respects, I really think it will eventually be greater in consequence of not immediately forcing myself into a more public situation. My writings, which are now much inquired after, and were not known or thought of before, will prepare the way for my preaching in Philadelphia, which I am determined upon, about two months, the next winter. In the mean time I shall have a small congregation here, all the more intelligent people in the place having agreed to join in building me a place of worship. A Mr. Walker, a good scholar, and, in point of character and fortune, the first person in this place, has read almost all my theological writings with the most entire approbation, and even my *Disquisitiones* and controversy with Dr. Price.

If we establish a college here, I do not think that I could any where be fixed to more advantage, especially if it be considered that I have here the leisure for my pursuits that I could not have in a populous town, and the climate, &c., much superior to any thing near the coast, in several important respects. Could you and Mrs. Lindsey be set down here, especially in the autumn, without the risk and fatigue of the voyage, you would think it a paradise. It gives a feeling of serenity and cheerfulness that I never had in England. Even the winter, which is now closing, is much less disagreeable, though colder, than yours. It was, however, only three times below 0, and then not at all unpleasant; and as the air is generally clear, that is the time for visiting and pleasurable excursions on slays, which is superior to any other mode of conveyance.*

TO REV. T. BELSHAM.†

DEAR SIR,

Northumberland, March 22, 1795.

I CONSIDER it as nearly the same thing whether I write to you or to Mr. Lindsey, as I have nearly the same things to say to you both, as you both interest yourselves in what relates

* *Orig.* MS.

† Hackney College.

to me and my pursuits; and I have little else, living as I do, sequestered from the world, to entertain you with. But I judge of you by myself; and nothing interests me so much as what relates to you and your pursuits.

I do not know that any thing has given me more pleasure since I left England than to hear, in my present state of inaction, of your success in the congregation, and in your lecturing to my class at Hackney. I feel as if, by your means, I was not wholly idle, though I am here at present unemployed, and, much against my will, without any thing to do. I hope, however, you will not consider me as being wholly useless.

Inconveniently situated as I am, I have contrived to repeat my experiments on the generation of air from water, and have diversified them in such a manner as to answer some objections that were made to them, and to extend them farther. In a few weeks it will, I hope, be in my power to do a good deal more; but I will not trouble *you*, about things of this nature.

I have published an answer to Mr. Paine's book, and it is much read. An edition I first printed here was on bad paper, but another, printed at Philadelphia, looks as well as any pamphlet printed in England, and there will be another edition in Boston. I am now greatly enlarging some Observations I wrote and printed on my arrival in this country on the Causes of the spread of Infidelity. I will send you and Mr. Lindsey copies of what I publish here, if I can, but I find more difficulty than I was aware of in doing this. If I was at Philadelphia I could manage better.

I admire the climate of this part of the country very much; but our greatest advantage is the peace we enjoy, and have the prospect of preserving, and the blessings of a good government calculated to preserve it. It is with the greatest eagerness we read all advices from Europe, and especially from England, for the interest of which I cannot help feeling very sensibly. The last accounts we have had, mention the French having passed the Waal, and advancing to Utrecht, and the probability of the Dutch making peace.

With every good wish to my native country, and especially my friends in it, I am, dear Sir, yours sincerely.

CHAPTER IV.

(1795, 1796.)

MR. PRIESTLEY, having carried through the press at Northumberland the *Memoirs*, "from his father's manuscript," thus commences his *Continuation*:

I entertained hopes at one time that my father would have continued the narrative himself; and he was frequently requested to do so by me, and many of his friends, in the course of the year preceding his death.

He was requested also, in imitation of *Courayer*,* to add, at

* In "Déclaration de mes derniers sentimens sur les différens dogmes de la Religion," presented, in 1767, to the Princess Amelia, with a request for its concealment during the author's life. This MS. the princess bequeathed to her chaplain, Dr. Wm. Bell, by whom it was published in 1787.

M. Le Courayer died in 1776, aged 95. He had constantly resided in England since 1728, when he quitted France to escape the persecution excited by his "Dissertation sur la validité des Ordinations Anglicanes." About 1751, Mr. Lindsey came into his acquaintance in the family of the Duchess of Somerset, where Courayer was frequently an inmate.

The "derniers sentimens" are strictly Unitarian, though the author, too like some earlier Unitarians, does not allow himself, in terms, to explode the notion of a Trinity. He says,

"De toutes les manières d'expliquer le dogme de la Trinité, je n'en connois point de plus contraire à la véritable doctrine du Christianisme, que celle qui suppose dans la Divinité l'existence de trois natures, ou de trois substances, distinctes, soit collatérales, soit subordonnées. C'est, à mon sens, rétablir le polythéisme, sous prétexte d'expliquer un mystère. L'Unité de Dieu est le fondement de l'Evangile; et tout ce qui peut donner atteinte à cette vérité est dangereux.

"Je crois donc, qu'il n'y a qu'un seul Dieu; que son Esprit n'est point une substance distinguée de lui; et que Jésus Christ, à qui la divinité a été très intimement unie, est son fils en vertu de cette union; et il n'y a rien de choquant à concevoir qu'il puisse se communiquer à un homme aussi pleine-

the close of his Memoirs, a summary of his religious opinions. This would have counteracted the suspicions entertained by some, that they had undergone a considerable change since his coming to America; and it was thought by his friends, that such a brief and simple statement of all that appeared to him essential to the Christian belief, and the Christian character, would attract the attention of many readers previously indisposed to religion altogether, from not understanding its real nature, and judging of it only from the corrupt, adulterated, and complicated state in which it is professed in all countries called Christian.

It was suggested to him also, that as his society through life had been singularly varied and extensive, and his opportunities of attaining a general knowledge of the world, and a particular knowledge of eminent political and literary characters, very great, it would contribute much to the instruction and amusement of those into whose hands his Memoirs should fall, if they were accompanied with anecdotes of the principal characters with whom he had been acquainted; for he had a fund of anecdote, which he was never backward to produce for the amusement of his friends, as occasions served for introducing it. But his relations were never sarcastic or ironical, or tended to disparage the characters of the persons spoken of, unless on subjects of manifest importance to the interests of society.

He meant to have complied with the above suggestions, but being at that time very busily employed about his "Comparison," and thinking his Memoirs of little value compared with the works about which he was then engaged, he put off the completion of his narrative until his other works should be ready for the press. Unfortunately, this was too late. The work he had in hand was not completed until the 22d of January, when he was very weak, and suffered greatly from his disorder, and he died on the 6th of February.

ment, et aussi intinement, qu'il le juge nécessaire pour sa propre gloire, et pour le salut du genre humain." *Declaration*, pp. 4—7. See "A Faithful Translation, to which is prefixed an Account of Dr. Courayer," (1787,) pp. 15—20.

The letters which will occupy the remainder of this chapter are all from Dr. Priestley. They narrate the various objects which now engaged his attention, and the disadvantage or facilities for their pursuit, which he naturally attributed to a remote and retired residence. They also feelingly allude to bereavements of the most painful description, which he was too soon called to suffer, and discover the consolations he derived from an habitual confidence, on Christian principles, in the equity and benevolence of the Divine dispensations, piously concluding, that

All is best, though we oft doubt
What the unsearchable dispose
Of highest wisdom brings about,
And always best found in the close.

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.*

DEAR FRIEND,

Northumberland, April 5, 1795.

I NEVER felt so sensibly as I now do the benefit of the principles which I have taken so much pains to teach to others. I mean, chiefly, the belief of a Providence, extending to all events; of nothing happening without the will of the wisest and best of Beings. Otherwise, my situation is so very different from what it has ever been before, that I should have felt the change very severely, especially so late in life.

Nothing is yet done towards building my house. It is next to impossible to get workmen, and the price of every thing is advanced one-third since we have come hither. This indeed is an alarming circumstance, and how far the evil will go we cannot tell. It is with most probability ascribed to the increase of paper money, which has only very lately made its way hither. In consequence of this, I expect that living, even in this remote place, will soon be as dear as in London; but my sons will soon raise every thing we want of provisions within

* Essex Street.

themselves, and that will make it easy to us. Even I sometimes take my axe or my mattock, and work, as long as I can, along with them. Nobody here thinks himself above bodily labour of any kind, and they dress accordingly.

In general, the lower class of people are very idle, as well as proud, and live miserably, many of them as wretchedly, to appearance, as the poor are said to do in Ireland; but there is hardly any such thing as thieving, drunkenness, or open profaneness, though there is little religion. It is universally observed, that the more we approach the frontiers, the more uncivilized the people are, till they are little better, many really worse, than the native Indians, having all their bad qualities, without their good ones. Such was this place a few years ago. During the late war it was in the possession of the Indians, though now there are none within 200 miles of us. But as places get better peopled, those lawless people who had the first possession leave them, and get nearer to the frontiers, where they can live in a manner more agreeably to their disposition and habits. You have no such people in England or Europe. They will live in the woods without houses, like wild beasts, the greatest part of the year; and even in the winter they want little more provision of any kind than their cattle.*

* "He who would wish to see America in its proper light, and have a true idea of its feeble beginnings and barbarous rudiments, must visit our extended line of frontiers, where the last settlers dwell. There, men appear to be no better than carnivorous animals of a superior rank, living on the flesh of wild animals. Remote from the power of example and check of shame, many families exhibit the most hideous parts of our society. They are a kind of forlorn hope, preceding, by ten or twelve years, the most respectable army of veterans which come after them.

"In that space prosperity will polish some, vice and the law will drive off the rest, who uniting again with others like themselves, will recede still farther, making room for more industrious people, who will finish their improvements, convert the log-house into a convenient habitation, and change in a few years that hitherto barbarous country into a fine, fertile, well-regulated district." See "Letters from an American Farmer," (1782,) pp. 56, 57.

The following anticipations of a favourable progress, and its extending influence, perhaps even till *componitur orbis ad exemplum*, may well accord with the history of the intervening century, and the present political aspect

I lately wrote to Mr. Belsham about the college here, and my prospects in that and other respects. They continue the same. I work every day at my Church History. I have also continued my Memoirs of myself to the present time. All things considered, I believe I am better here than in Philadelphia. If I have done any good, it has been chiefly by writing, and here I have more time to command for that purpose, as well as for making experiments. However, when I cannot do as I would, I must be content to do as I can, and submit to the order of Providence. I want most the society of Christian and Unitarian friends, and particularly lament that I hear nothing of Mr. Russell. The English, who think of settling here, are almost wholly unbelievers, which renders my situation much less agreeable. This, however, is the will of Providence, and perhaps some good may come even of this unpleasant circumstance. I hope I shall at least guard my own family from the general infection.

I have but just received, and began to read, Darwin's *Zoonomia*. It is a curious and valuable work. I am surprised he should not mention *Hartley*; but he may as he proceeds.*

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND, *Northumberland, May 17, 1795.*

I FIND there is a packet coming to me from Philadelphia. I am eager to receive it; but in this respect my patience is fully tried, so that I make myself more easy than I did at first; and were it not for the concern I have for my friends, and the attention I give to the fulfilment of prophecy, I should take but little interest in the politics of Europe. He we are,

of Europe, where it may be reasonably conjectured, that the people "who know their rights, and knowing dare maintain" them, are rapidly increasing:

"Here individuals of all nations are melted into a new race of men, whose labours and posterity will, one day, cause great changes in the world. Americans are the western pilgrims, who are carrying along with them the great mass of arts, sciences, vigour, and industry, which began long since in the east. They will finish the great circle." See "Letters from an American Farmer," p. 52. See, also, Lord Corke, in 1755, *supra*, p. 246, *note*.

* *Orig. MS.*

as it were, out of the world, and begin to give but little attention to it. I used to feel something of the same kind between living at Birmingham, absorbed in my own pursuits, and spending a month annually in the bustle of London. But I feel the difference much more sensibly here.

It is my determination to spend two months annually in Philadelphia, or some of the greater towns in this country, and preach, for which I now hope I have sufficient strength; but last year I really had not. I have written to my friends at Philadelphia, to acquaint them with my resolution, saying I would appear among them, if at all, in my proper character of a Christian minister, and that they must therefore provide a place in which I may deliver a set of discourses on the evidences of revelation, or other seasonable and interesting subjects. If they could not succeed in this, I said I should make the same proposal to my friends at New York, but that I should give the preference to Philadelphia.

I have this day finished the transcribing the second period of the continuation of my Church History, which brings me to the re-establishment of the Western empire, under Charlemagne. This work I stick close to; but I could have done but little, if any thing, at it, if I had been at Philadelphia. As to experiments, I find I cannot do much till I get my own house built. At present I have all my books and instruments in one room, at the house of my son.

I am beginning to read your publications. Over the Apology and Farewell Address to the people of Catterick,* I could not help shedding some tears.†

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND,

I HAVE just received yours, in recommendation of Mr. Millar; but I have not seen him, or heard from him. Had our college been established, I should have thought him a valuable acquisition. However, several of our zealous friends are of the aristocratical, or governmental party in this country; and to

* See *Mem. of Lindsey*, pp. 70, 83.

† *Orig. MS.*

them Mr. Millar's having left England for his attachment to the principles of liberty will be no recommendation. On the contrary, they have the greatest jealousy of such persons, and Mr. Adams, with whom I have some correspondence,* acknowledged it was the fear they had of such emigrants that led them to put the restrictions they have lately done on the naturalization of foreigners. For my own part, I told him I had no intention to be naturalized at all, but to live as a peaceable stranger. I can perceive, however, that the democratical party is growing stronger, and will, in time, get the upper hand. Party spirit is pretty high in this country, but the constitution is such that it cannot do any harm.

On Sunday last, at the request of the judges of the Supreme Court, which has not sat the last two years, I preached at Sunbury, to a tolerable audience, some of whom I was told were much surprised to find that I was a Christian. I have no doubt of finding an opening to preach, and with effect, in this country soon, and I think with more effect, in consequence of having been thought to be overborne by the bigotry of the Calvinistic party, here called Presbyterians. Indeed, the Presbyterian discipline generally prevails here, the same as in Scotland. All the emigrants from Great Britain, of late years, have been from Scotland, or the north of Ireland. Very few settlers indeed have come from England. Nobody in these parts remembers any, and we are regarded with peculiar jealousy; and no others are considered as foreigners but ourselves. From other parts they are received as at home. At the same time we are evidently considered as something superior to other emigrants, and thought to be immensely rich.

Harry will make a spirited and laborious farmer. He is the wonder of the place, and, I hope, will not fail to do well.

I have read Darwin's *Zoonomia*, and admire it much; but he should have made more respectful mention of Hartley, who was before him in every important observation.†

P. S. I inclose a letter for Mrs. Rayner.

* See *supra*, p. 234, note.

† *Orig. MS.* No date. The London post-mark, July 6.

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND, *Northumberland, June 17, 1795.*

I HAVE lately received two letters from you, and many pamphlets and newspapers, which were exceedingly welcome to me. I can hardly give you an idea of the interest I take in every thing that comes from England, and how little in any thing here. This is in a great measure, no doubt, owing to there being nothing very interesting now going forward here, every thing being quiet, and only in a silent, regular progression to a better state; whereas with you the greatest events may be expected, and things cannot continue as they are; and with the fate of England is connected that of Europe, and of the world.

The Morning Chronicle is particularly welcome to me, and I plainly perceive by it that the spirit of the people is getting up, and that things are approaching to the state they were in towards the close of the American war. I wish the issue may not be more calamitous. I am far from rejoicing in the distresses of my native country, and even those of my enemies in it; though I as earnestly as ever wish well to the cause of liberty, and, consequently, the success of the French. I rejoice in the change of measures that has taken place in that country,* and wish it may be permanent; but, by our last accounts, another revolution was apprehended. By this time you know much more than we do here, and much more you will know before you receive this.

What you say on the subject of my continuing unactive here, affects me much. But if you could have been present at all the train of events by which I have been brought into this situation, I am confident you would not blame me. I feel a more eager desire than ever of doing what I can in the way that you wish me; but hitherto there has been no opening for it. I flatter myself, however, that I shall appear with more effect in consequence of this very circumstance, which

* Referring, I apprehend, to "the proceedings of the convention," April 3, and the report of Cambacères, the 19th, on "the mode of organizing the laws of the republican constitution." See *N. A. Reg.* XVI. 199.

appears so unfavourable. Nothing shall be wanting on my part towards it.

As to the chemical lectureship, I am now convinced I could not have acquitted myself in it to proper advantage. I had no difficulty in giving a general course of chemistry at Hackney, lecturing only once a week; but to give a lecture every day for four months, and to enter so particularly into the subject as a course of lectures in a medical university requires, I was not prepared for; and my engagements there would not, at my time of life, have permitted me to make the necessary preparations for it; if I could have done it at all. For, though I have made discoveries in some branches of chemistry, I never gave much attention to the common routine of it, and know but little of the common processes. On the whole, I am satisfied that I can never appear at Philadelphia, as a Unitarian preacher, if I have any thing else to attend to; and to this object I am determined to devote my time, and all my resources,* whenever I get into a settled way of living.

Here I have most leisure for writing and experimenting, by which I have done the most. I have composed and transcribed about another volume of my Church History, and hope to complete the whole in less than two years; and I do not think I could employ my time to better purpose. I shall likewise give constant attention to every thing that relates to the evidences of Christianity.

Having suddenly heard of this opportunity of sending to Philadelphia, I cannot now write to the Duke of Grafton, but shall, the next, and probably you will receive both the letters at the same time. I cannot but say that the benefaction is seasonable, my expenses so much exceed my idea of them. However, I thank a kind Providence, I shall do very well.†

* I have found this exemplary *devotion* thus estimated in America, twenty years after Priestley had rested from his labours:

“It seems to us, that if there is one man to whom, more than to any other, Unitarians can look with confidence, and point with pride, as the honest, zealous, pious, unwearied, distinguished champion of their principles, Dr. Priestley is that man.” See “Unitarian Miscellany,” *Baltimore*, (1824,) VI. 208.

† *Orig. MS.*

TO REV. T. BELSHAM.*

DEAR SIR,

Northumberland, June 18, 1795.

YOU make me very happy by your letters, and if I do not write so often in return, it is only because I take it for granted Mr. Lindsey will communicate to you every thing in my letters to him that will interest you, and that will be almost every thing I say to him. Nothing is wanting to my complete satisfaction here, but such society as his and yours. You are continually in my thoughts, and your letters, and the papers and pamphlets you send me, are a chief part of my entertainment. But my distance from Philadelphia, and the want of a ready communication with it, not for letters, but *parcels*, is a great obstruction to it. This, however, we hope will soon be removed by the erection of a stage coach.

I am very glad that you have taken up the subject of *prophecy*, which, indeed, must interest, in a particular manner, all who have any faith in the subject at this critical time. I had no doubt but when you particularly attended to the *Revelation*, all your doubts about it would vanish. I also have been giving a good deal of attention to the subject of prophecy, and find, or think I find, less difficulty with respect to the *Revelation* than I expected. I have found *Jurieu*† in many respects an excellent work. But I find the greatest difficulty in the interpretation of the *eleventh chapter of Daniel*; and the more I think, the more puzzled I am. If you can give me any light, pray do.

I wish much for a copy of your *Academical Lectures*. If I give lectures on the same subjects, I shall not compose any of my own. But I have some presentiment, that as soon as they will be wanted, you will deliver them yourself here. The idea is too pleasing to me to be given up.‡

* New College, Hackney.

† “Il osa prédire, dans son *Accomplissement des Prophéties*, (1686,) 2 V. 12mo, qu’en 1689, le Calvinisme seroit rétabli en France.” Jurieu died, 1713, aged 76. *Nouv. Dict. Hist.*, (1789,) V. 68, 69.

‡ Orig. MS.

TO MR. SPURRELL.*

DEAR SIR,

Northumberland, July 12, 1795.

I AM very much affected by your kind letter, and blame myself for not writing to you before, though I always intended doing it. For we are frequently speaking of you, and shall never forget the many obligations we are under to you, or the pleasure we have had in your society. The satisfaction I had at Clapton was in a very great measure owing to it. How happy should I be to have your company here, where I want it still more! but I cannot, at present, at least, give you any encouragement to come. If I could, I should have written to you long ago.

This would be a good situation for manufactures, were it not for the high price of labour, and the great expense of carriage for raw materials of any kind. Indeed, the price of provisions, and all necessities, is suddenly and astonishingly raised; nearly one-third since we came hither, and they have doubled in the last three years. Where this will stop we cannot tell, but it is very alarming to those who live on fixed incomes. But here every housekeeper has a garden, out of which he raises almost all he wants for his family. They all have cows, and many have horses, the keeping of which costs them little or nothing in the summer, for they ramble with bells on their necks in the woods, and come home at night. Almost all the flesh meat they have is salted in the autumn, and a fish called shads in the spring. This salt shad they eat at breakfast, with their tea and coffee, and also at night; for they have no supper distinct from their afternoon's tea. We, however, have

* Alton, Hants. With Mr. Spurrell my acquaintance commenced in 1792, among the "Friends of the People;" and I enjoyed his society and friendship till his decease, in 1822, aged 79. He was deservedly esteemed as a liberal politician; and an enlightened and consistent Christian.

It has been justly remarked, that though Mr "Spurrell spent all the years of his life in the occupations of commerce, he found leisure for mental cultivation, and so improved his understanding by habits of reading and reflection, as to have rendered himself no uninteresting companion to men of great talents and attainments, some of whom he had the satisfaction to rank among his personal and particular friends." See Obituary by the Rev. E. Cogan, M. R. XVII. 375, 376.

not yet laid aside our English customs, and having made great exertions to get fresh meat, it will soon come into general use.

All persons who come here must have farms, and cultivate them themselves for the most part, as the natives do. This is what my three sons do now. My youngest son, Harry, works as hard as any farmer in the country, and is as attentive to his farm, though he is only eighteen. We have not much society except among ourselves.

As to religion, we are like you, having a service in our own house, at which only two or three persons out of it, and those from England, attend. I shall get a place where I can preach more publicly, but it must be at my own expense. We are, however, about to establish a college in this place, and then I can make use of the common hall for that purpose.

I propose to spend a month or two every winter in some of the towns. There, however, I could not live. It is dearer in all respects than in London, and all towns themselves very disagreeable. Here the climate is excellent. We hope in a little time to have agreeable society, and be better accommodated in a variety of respects than we are at present.

We are much affected by the many afflictions you have met with.* They have, indeed been uncommonly great; but your Christian principles will, I hope, carry you through them all.

Peace, I think, you must have, from choice or necessity; for this destructive war cannot last always. In this case of peace, I do not wholly despair of once more seeing my friends in England; and among the first of them, yourself and your family. Nay, I sometimes flatter myself, that if there should be an unfavourable turn in public affairs, you and others of my friends may find an asylum here. Nothing would make me so happy. It is, indeed, almost all I want. Do not fail to write to me, and if you should look this way, all that we can do shall be done for you. Believe me to be, with much gratitude and esteem, dear Sir, yours sincerely.

My wife joins in best respects to you and your family.†

* Mrs. Spurrell died in 1794. See *ibid.* p. 375.

† *Orig. MS.*, obligingly communicated by Mr. Spurrell's family.

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.*

DEAR FRIEND, *Northumberland, July 12, 1795.*

I CANNOT express my feelings when I open any of your letters, and to this the distance I am from you contributes not a little. But that we can correspond at all, is one of the greatest satisfactions I enjoy. I have just received yours of May. You will find that I had written to Mrs. Rayner. To the Duke I wrote; but without inclosing the letter to you, and now I shall write to Mr. Tayleur; but from the account you gave me of him, I had concluded that it was too late to write to him at all.†

Mrs. Rayner's benevolence is peculiarly seasonable; though I hope, in a year or two, to do without any. Harry proceeds with so much spirit and industry, that I must give him all the assistance I can. Considering his youth, for he is not eighteen, his conduct is thought by every body to be extraordinary. Harry drives his horses and cart, and works with his men, like one of them, and here there is little difference between master and servant. Indeed, those terms are unknown. If there was more subordination, it would be better for them all. There are no beggars here, or in the country; but though they are miserably housed, hardly clothed, and feed no better than their cattle, they will not go to service.

I am exceedingly glad that you have, at last, got my answer to Mr. Paine, and that you like it. I wish to see your preface.‡ It cannot give more pleasure to you than it does to me,

* Essex Street.

† Mr. Tayleur died May 6, 1796, aged 83. See I. 215, note |||.

‡ See several extracts, on the purpose of this pamphlet, W. XXI. 596. Mr. Lindsey's preface thus commences:

“The well-known author of this tract will ever rank high, as one of the very few, in different ages, distinguished of heaven, who, by superior powers of mind, and the virtuous and indefatigable exertion of them, has extended the limits of human knowledge, and advanced the useful arts and comforts of life; and who, at the same time, by his various researches and writings, has contributed to the virtue and happiness of mankind, especially by helping to dispel the mists of ignorance and superstition which had stifled and

to have our names connected in every possible method. I hope they will be for ever inseparable. I have now nearly printed some Observations on the Increase of Infidelity, and I will send them, the first opportunity. I hardly ever wrote more than I do now, at least with a view to publication. I read nothing for amusement. What I chiefly attend to now is my Church History, which I have composed and transcribed, as far as the taking of Jerusalem by the Crusaders. Two periods more will, I think, bring me to the Reformation. As Fleury contains all the facts in the order in which they took place, I begin with abridging and re-arranging his materials, with my own reflections and colouring, and, for the middle ages, this appears to me to be almost all that is wanting. It is very laborious, but without some serious business my time would be intolerably heavy on my hands. I have only one room for my books and instruments, and therefore I cannot do much; but I make some experiments every day, and shall soon draw up a paper for the Philosophical Society at Philadelphia, being a continuation of my last experiments in England.

Two or three hours I always work in the fields, along with my son. The weather beginning to be hot, I do this early and late; but I am at my History between five and six every morning.* Before next winter I hope to have two more volumes ready for the press. I hope it will be a seasonable and useful

well-nigh extinguished the revelation which the benevolent Creator had made of his will to them, and of the way to his favour for ever.

“Still actuated by the same desires, and engaged in the same pursuits, to serve others; driven now from his native land, by a revival of those high-church, persecuting principles, which peopled the deserts of America in the days of the Stuarts, he has found an asylum, and been welcomed with honour into that country, which had lately to contend for its own liberty and independence; and which is glad and able to receive into its capacious bosom all the sufferers from religious or civil tyranny throughout the world.”

* “When I was employed in the garden,” says Mr. Bakewell, “the Doctor would give me a little assistance, ask me for instruction, and say he would be ‘the under-gardener.’ As we were one day thus employed, I said, ‘Doctor, the Bible would appear to be the most contradictory book in the world, from the contrariety of the opinions that are drawn from it!’—‘True,’ he said; ‘and yet it is a plain book; but if men will not use the faculty of reason in understanding it, as they do when reading other books, it becomes no rule of faith to them, as they only form opinions as their fancy or their prejudice directs.’ It was seldom that he said much, unless I

work. On the subject of the prophecies I think a good deal, and write a little; but whether I shall ever publish I cannot tell. I do not understand the eleventh chapter of Daniel, nor the prophesying of the witnesses in the Revelation. I thank you for *Brothers*,* and other curiosities in that way.

The English newspapers interest me much. I shall never feel otherwise than as an Englishman. Here I feel, and always shall, as a stranger, and indeed have no intention to be naturalized. The present governing powers have shewn a ridiculous jealousy of democratical emigrants, and, from a dread of them, as Mr. Adams acknowledges to me,† they have, in the last congress, made naturalization more difficult than before.

I have just heard from Mr. Toulmin. He is engaged for another year at Lexington; and after that I have some hope that we may get him hither. This will be a central and most agreeable place, though, perhaps, not so much as the Athens of America. I long for the society of rational Christians; and I hope in time to form some here; but no friends are like old ones.‡

asked him a question. He observed one day, when we were talking about the strength of religious prejudices, ‘In these things I was once a slave.’

“I always found him up and writing, when I went to the house, which seldom exceeded six o’clock in the morning. He usually took a walk after breakfast, and employed the remainder of his time in writing till noon. In the after-part of the day he would frequently come to me in the garden, or visit the people employed in building his house, and then return to his study. After tea, he and Mrs. Priestley frequently took a walk in the town, or elsewhere, till the evening, which was generally spent in reading, and concluded with family prayer.” M. R. I. 506, 507.

* Who published, (1794,) “A Revealed Knowledge of the Prophecies and Times,” and, (1795,) “Exposition of the Trinity.” Brothers had been described as a successor of Swedenborg, in “A Revealed Knowledge of some Things that will speedily be fulfilled in the World, communicated to a Number of Christians, brought together at Avignon, by the Power of the Spirit of God from all Nations; now published by his Divine Command, for the Good of all Men, by John Wright, his Servant, and one of the Brethren.” See *N. A. Reg.* XV. [184]; XVI. [202, 207, 208].

Richard Brothers, who died a few years since, “was confined” at Fisher House, Islington, “until liberated by the authority of the Lord Chancellor Erskine, in 1806.” See “History of Islington,” (1829,) p. 356, *note*.

† See *supra*, p. 304.

‡ *Orig.* MS.

TO REV. T. BELSHAM.*

DEAR SIR,

Northumberland, Aug. 3, 1795.

YOUR letters and Mr. Lindsey's give me greater satisfaction in this remote part of the world than I can well give you an idea of, and you are both very kind in writing to me, as you do. I wish it was as easy to convey parcels as it is *letters*; but if I believe a thing I much wish to see will come some time or other, I am now tolerably easy. At Hackney, we had the newspapers once or twice every day, and while fresh. Here we have the post only once a week, and European news, which is all that interests us, two or three months after you have it, but to this I am now reconciled. I carefully preserve all the *Morning Chronicles*, and the *Cambridge Intelligencer*, which I neglected when I was with you. They are now all in good order, and frequently referred to. I hope soon to receive the *Annual Register*, which will be another feast for me.

Though this country, and the government of it, are really almost every thing that I can wish from them, I shall always feel as a stranger; but my sons will be at home soon. What I want chiefly is the *employment* I had at Hackney, but for this I am finding a substitute. I apply very closely to my Church History. A year more, applying to it as I now do, will enable me to complete the whole. However, as I shall have interruptions, and shall take a good deal of time to revise and compare different accounts, I shall hardly go to press before two years.

Mr. Brookes, one of your Sunday pupils, has been so good as to send me the heads of some of your lectures to the young people, which makes me very desirous of seeing the rest, especially on the Revelation. Could you by any means favour me with a sight of them? I am thinking much on the subject, but cannot by any means arrive at the satisfaction I wish for. I am more and more dissatisfied with Mr. Evan-son's and Mr. Garnham's principles of interpretation. Anti-christ and the beasts, &c., &c., must be visible *powers* or *governments*, and not opinions or superstitious practices. In

* Hackney College.

the Revelation, I am most puzzled with the *witnesses*, their death and resurrection, and the earthquake that followed it. I think with you, neither their death nor resurrection have yet taken place, and therefore we cannot expect to understand them.*

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.†

DEAR FRIEND, *Northumberland, Aug. 12, 1795.*

I BEGIN to think it rather long since I have heard from you; but I hear the ship Molly, after a long passage of more than ten weeks, is arrived, and I hope will bring letters from Mr. Belsham and you. Thus, at least, I flatter myself. We are, however, better situated in that respect in this place than Mr. Toulmin,‡ in Kentucky. I heard from him lately. He has engaged for another year in their college, which, however, by his account, is hardly a grammar school, nor likely at present to be much more. What will be done *here* I cannot tell; but I hope better things; but not so much better as to afford ground to expect such society as that of his, or any other friends from England. Of late I have not heard any thing about the scheme.§ However, I shall do what I can, and leave the event to Providence.

I never before found such aid from a sense of religion as in my present circumstances, and a persuasion that both in coming to this country, and settling here, I acted from the best views, as things appeared at the time; nor could I have subsisted any where else without being too burdensome to my friends, or engaged in some employment for which I am growing every day more unfit, and which would have taken up all my time, which I can now give to useful pursuits. As to society, I do well enough without it. I feel myself too old to enjoy new acquaintance, and those I could enjoy cannot be had. I believe we shall have several English settle in this neighbourhood; but I expect nothing from them in that respect.

To drive off *ennui* I was never more fully employed, especially about my Church History, in which I am writing the history of the war with the Albigenes. In experiments I can-

* *Orig. MS.*

† See I. 358, *note* †.

‡ Essex Street.

§ See *supra*, p. 271, *ad fin.*

not do very much, till I get my laboratory built, and then my time may be but short. But the will of God be done. I am going to draw up an account of what I have done, for the Philosophical Society at Philadelphia.

The only thing that I repent of here, is my undertaking to build a house, not foreseeing the difficulty and expense of it. In all other respects I have every thing that I wish for on this side the grave, at least all that this country can give me. We have the great blessing of peace, which I earnestly wish you had also. Mr. Jay's treaty* is almost universally condemned, so that many think the President will not ratify it. We have had a very fine mild spring, and as yet but little hot weather. I have not disliked the hottest.

It is now a long time since we have had any European news of consequence, which makes me hope that the contending powers are inclined to peace. This would be a most desirable event indeed, but I fear a greater blessing than the state of the world will authorize us to expect. I cannot help being sensibly impressed with the language of prophecy, though happily we cannot tell how long the evil day may be delayed or (for the elects' sake) shortened. It will be happy if we be found always ready. How I long to confer with some intelligent and learned Christian on this and other interesting subjects! At present I can only indulge my own private thoughts, and in this case they are too apt to become particular and odd, as we used to think was the case with Mr. Cappe.

In hopes of better times, yours, Mrs. Lindsey's and Mrs. Rayner's most affectionately.†

TO REV. T. BELSHAM.‡

DEAR SIR,

Northumberland, Aug. 30, 1795.

I HAVE this day received yours of June 14, and I cannot express the satisfaction I receive from all your letters, and those of Mr. Lindsey. The distance, and other circumstances, give them the effect of letters from the dead.

How happy I should be to enjoy once more such an interview as we used to have after walking together from Hackney

* See *supra*, p. 267, *ad fin.*

† *Orig. MS.*

‡ Hackney College.

to Essex Street! It makes me think more than ever of the time when I hope we shall meet to part no more. Still, however, I am willing to flatter myself that I may see you both on this side of the grave, if peace should return while I am capable of undertaking the voyage, for I cannot expect to see Mr. Lindsey here, and hardly you.

I am exceedingly concerned at the lukewarmness and desertion of the persons you mention. What would I not give to have the opportunity that any of them has given up, to appear as a public preacher of Unitarian Christianity! That is the only considerable thing wanting to the satisfaction I enjoy here; and I feel the restraint I am under very painfully. I hope, however, it will in some measure be removed; and I consider that if I have done any good, it has not been so much by preaching as by *writing*, and that my capacity for public speaking must necessarily decline. I must therefore be content to bear my testimony some other way, though I have engaged a pulpit for the sake of delivering a course of sermons at Philadelphia the next winter. I have no expectation of a chapel here till we build for the college, and then I shall make use of the common hall. At present we have a service every Sunday morning, but, being in a private house, very few attend, and I only read printed sermons. I am now reading the third and fourth volumes of Mr. Bourn's, of Norwich, which I like much. They are a set on the parables.

I am glad to hear that you have some hope of the continuance of your college, which I heard was despaired of; but you must not leave it. I hope every thing goes on well in the congregation, the welfare of which I have much at heart. I have written to Mr. Travers, Mr. Palmer, and Mr. Spurrell, who laments his want of rational Christian society. In that respect he seems to be worse situated than I am here.

P. S. Did I leave any volumes of Montfaucon? Mr. Russell is safely arrived at New York.*

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.†

DEAR FRIEND,

Northumberland, Sept. 14, 1795.

YOURS of June 1, which I have just received, is peculiarly

* Orig. MS.

† Essex Street.

acceptable to me, as expressing your approbation of my conduct in choosing to settle here, rather than go to Philadelphia. I myself am more than ever satisfied that in this I do right; but I earnestly wished that you might see the thing in the same light. Every thing here is by no means what I wish; but there is a good prospect of their growing better in all respects, and in a short time, both with respect to usefulness and happiness, which go together.

My prospect is much improved by the arrival of Mr. Russell and his family, who are now with us, and seem to like the place so well as to settle in it. He has, however, taken a house in Philadelphia, where he will reside in the winter, and where it is settled that I am to be his guest, as long as I choose to continue there, which will add much to my satisfaction. He will also have packages coming to him hither at least twice a year, and in these any thing may be sent to me with great convenience. Besides this, we shall soon have four new circumstances in our favour, a market, a stage-coach to Philadelphia, a corporation, and a college. The third, judging from your ideas, you may think to be no advantage; but here it is found to be a great one, as the majority can then bind the minority, in removing nuisances, and making regulations for the convenience of the whole. In these respects, Mr. Russell will be a treasure to us; and his activity and public spirit is increased, rather than abated, since I saw him last. His daughters and his son are much improved by the scenes they have gone through, which have been very various, and some of them very distressing.

We all think ourselves very happy in this peaceful retreat, which will now be more desirable than ever. We only wish for the society of a few of our friends, for their sakes, as well as our own, till the storms in Europe be blown over. The difference between the two countries is infinitely to our advantage, notwithstanding some things that are against us; and these all arise from the unexampled prosperity of the country in general; I mean the high price of labour, and the consequent difficulty of getting servants.

What I wrote to Mr. Clarke,* I do not recollect, but I wish you could yourself see the letter. The same things do not always appear to us in the same light, and I might wish to discourage *his* coming, thinking him not qualified to do well here. New-comers labour under great difficulties. The expenses at the sea-ports are enormous. Much time and much money must be spent before a person can be settled, and more still before any farm can be productive. There are, then, many chances against persons unacquainted with the country; but *artisans* of all kinds, and *labourers*, find immediate and profitable employment. As to the *law*, which is Mr. Clarke's profession, no person can practise till he has been in the country four years. This materially affects Mr. Cooper.

I thought, till Mr. Russell informed me to the contrary, that you had got the edition of my answer to Mr. Paine, which was printed at Philadelphia. Mr. Russell says he left his copy with Mr. Paine at Paris, who promised to return it, but did not. He could not tell what he thought of it. He was very angry at the other answers.

I have received a box from Mr. Jones, and the medal, on my departure from England, and the head in a frame,† but not the newspapers, or any books or pamphlets. All accounts from England are now peculiarly interesting to us; and, owing to the rains, which have stopped the post, we have had no news this long time. We hope, however, that there must be peace, from the impossibility of carrying on the war; and in this I shall greatly rejoice, whatever I may think on the subject of prophecy. I have no thoughts, however, of publishing any thing on the subject you mention, though I am particularly considering the prophecies that are fulfilled, and forming a general idea of what is to come; but as to the particulars, and the time, I believe nothing but the events will give us any satisfactory light. It is impossible, however, to forbear forming conjectures on a subject so very interesting.

* See *supra*, p. 285.

† Probably the medallion, in profile, by Wedgwood.

I rejoice that you are going to the north, as it will, I doubt not, be a source of satisfaction to you and your friends. I shall continue to write at least once a month. We have had an uncommonly wet and unhealthy summer all over the continent. No person remembers the like. On this account we have not been able to make bricks to build my house.

I am going on very well with new experiments. I want a few small diamonds, no matter how small, for an experiment with my burning lens.* I use it to great advantage here.†

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND, *Northumberland, Nov. 9, 1795.*

I AM very happy to hear just now of your safe return from your northern excursion, and hope you will live to enjoy many more of them. I am glad that you mention receiving three of my letters.

Nothing in this life would give me so much pleasure as the visit you mention to you and my friends in England; but I fear it is not to be thought of. I think of you without ceasing, perhaps more than I ought, considering too much the satisfaction I had when near you, and the little, in comparison, that I have here; but I hope I am resigned to the disposal of a wise and good Providence, believing it to superintend and direct every thing. A train of circumstances, no doubt for good purposes, has brought me hither; and having all my books and instruments with me, here I must remain, and I hope I shall be useful and happy, though not in so great a degree as I fondly wished, and that every thing will improve with time. My principal resource is in employment, in which I am as regular as in any part of my life.

At present, my principal employment is the continuation of

* A present from Mr. Parker. See I. 216. There was afterwards fabricated for Mr. Parker "a burning-glass of most extraordinary powers. Platina, iron, steel, flint-stone, were melted in a few seconds, and a diamond, weighing ten grains, exposed to this lens for thirty minutes, was reduced to six, during which operation it opened and foliated like the leaves of a flower, and emitted whitish fumes; and when closed again, it bore a polish, and retained its form." See Nelson's "History of Islington," (1829,) p. 196.

† *Orig. MS.*

my Church History, of which I have transcribed more than I have printed, having brought it down to the conclusion of the Council of Constance. L'Enfant's Councils, with which you supplied me, are of unspeakable use in what I wrote lately, and what I am now composing. With Mosheim I am more than ever dissatisfied. His work was originally Lectures on the History, and that plan could never suit the History itself.

Before I go to Philadelphia, I intend to compose a new set of discourses on the Evidences of Revelation, and shall find some difficulty in varying my plan, as I have published so much on that subject, though I believe that not much of that is known in this country, at least in this part of it. I am also preparing a View of the Mosaic Institutions, compared with the idolatrous systems of the times, which will be more new; but I find I want several books, though I have enow for a course of popular sermons on the subject.

I wish you would get me Reland's Jewish Antiquities, which I did not replace after the riots; Jablonski's Pantheon, or any thing that occurs to you relating to the subject. Send me also a Juvenal. I want also Apuleius, with notes. Here no books, such as scholars want, can be had; for the few you happen to see in the shops the most extravagant prices are asked. Indeed, the dearness of every thing in this country is hardly to be accounted for, and prices are continually advancing.

Mr. Russell is now at Boston; and from a letter I have just received from him, I fear there is little prospect of his settling here, he gives so great a preference to New England. This is a circumstance not a little unfavourable to me, as the want of such society as I was used to in England is one of the greatest that I feel here.

The state of society is such as you cannot well form an idea of. It is quite unlike what I had imagined, or can well describe, so different it is from that of England. I think myself, notwithstanding this, very happy here, when I read your newspapers. I have just received the large parcel you sent, and peruse them with great avidity, as I do every thing from England; but as yet they arrive very slowly. A parcel has been at Philadelphia about three months, which I am expect-

ing every day. We hope in another year to have a stage-coach. If Mr. Russell settle here, we shall have that convenience, and many others. His activity and public spirit are much wanted here; but if he be at Boston, he might as well be in England. His letter did not reach me in less than three weeks. The post here is very irregular and uncertain. Peace, and a consequent free intercourse with all parts of Europe, will do us the greatest service, and surely the war cannot last always.

With every good wish to my country, and all that are in it, I am yours and Mrs. Lindsey's most affectionately.*

TO MR. RUSSELL.†

DEAR SIR,

Northumberland, Nov. 10, 1795.

WE were very glad to hear of your safe arrival at Boston, which we only did the last post, there having been no post the week before. I am happy to find you were so well pleased with your visit, though, in consequence of it, we can hardly expect to see you any more at Northumberland.

In a variety of respects, as well as liberality, we must yield to New England; but a train of circumstances have brought me hither, and it is impossible for me to remove, and our difficulties are not so great but we may get through them, though not so soon as if we had had the aid of your activity, as well as experience and public spirit. I shall certainly regret the want of your society, but I shall hope to meet you sometimes at Philadelphia, and perhaps you may again pay us a short visit here.

We have had a very sickly season, but so it has been through all this part of the continent. My wife suffered extremely. Harry, too, has had the ague, and is not yet well; but the damp weather being now over, the country in general begins to be healthy again.

The society at Boston would certainly be most agreeable to me, but we cannot have every thing we wish for. I had three sons, as well as myself, to settle, and had not the means of doing

* *Orig.* MS.

† At Charles Vaughan's, Esq., Boston.

it in any of the larger towns; and in the back country I do not know whether I could, on the whole, be better than where I am. However, I am satisfied with the situation, such as it is. I have leisure for my pursuits; and with this, even without society, I shall not be unhappy. I believe there is the hand of a good Providence in every thing, and therefore I hope I am come hither for good, and I would not make my own gratification my principal object. Besides, in any part of this country I should feel as a stranger, being too old to form new attachments; though, on this account, the loss of old ones, which I cannot replace, is more sensibly felt. But, sooner or later, this must take place with respect to all our most valued connexions in this world. The parting with Mr. Lindsey, and my other friends in England, has made these reflections familiar to me; and as I hope to meet all that I value again where we shall not separate any more, I feel less than I could have expected from that absence, which is only temporary.

I should much rejoice to see Mr. B. Vaughan,* but it would be very unreasonable to expect it. He would enter into all my views, theological, philosophical, or political; but he must have a larger sphere than this place can furnish, and I am getting too old for him.

With every good wish, in which we all join, to yourself and family, I am yours affectionately.

P. S. I beg my best respects to Mr. Vaughan, Mr. Freeman, and Mr. R. Vaughan.†

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.‡

DEAR FRIEND,

Northumberland, Dec. 6, 1795.

I SEND this by Dr. Young, who has been a physician in this place, but has left off practice, and will make the tour of a good part of Europe. A more friendly man I have hardly ever known; and I hope that, though we lose him for the present, we shall get him again, and that he will build and settle in this town. If, by means of your acquaintance, you can procure

* See W. XXIV. 3.

† *Orig. MS.*

‡ *Essex Street.*

him a sight of any thing he wishes to see, you will oblige me very much.

I send by him a copy of a paper I am sending to the Philosophical Society at Philadelphia,* unless by landing at Liverpool he should see Birmingham before he reaches London, in which case he will forward this letter, without the paper, leaving it with my friends of the Lunar Society there.† If you get it first, you will please to forward it to Mr. Galton the first convenient opportunity. It contains several new experiments, which must be thought of importance, especially with respect to the new French system, with which, though universally adopted, I see more and more reason to be dissatisfied.

I have much more to do in my laboratory; but I am under the necessity of shutting up for the winter, as the frost will make it impossible to keep my water fit for use, without such provision as I cannot make, till I get my own laboratory prepared on purpose, when I hope to be able to work alike, winter and summer. I have materials for another paper, not yet composed, of which I shall take the first opportunity of sending you a copy.

The difficulty, and what is more, the uncertainty of the conveyance of any thing across the Atlantic, is a great drawback from the satisfaction I might have in this place. I have just seen Mr. Fawcett's Poem on War,‡ in a copy sent to Mr. Cooper, from Mr. Hawkes, of Manchester. It discovers a most exuberant imagination, but so many words and phrases for one idea, I never saw before. Some parts are very affecting.§

It is not long since I received the copy of your edition of my answer to Paine. I read the preface with much emotion, from a sense of the friendship to me expressed in it. If I had laboured ten times more than I have, I should not have thought it too much for such a reward. I hope that before this you

* See *supra*, p. 315.

† See *supra*, p. 210.

‡ "The Art of War." See *N. A. Reg.* XVI. [279].

§ See "War Elegy, better suited to our circumstances than the War Elegies of Tyrtæus." *Ibid.* p. [187].

will have got my "Observations on the Increase of Infidelity," as I have sent copies of it various ways. It is a subject now very interesting, and much more might be observed with respect to it. As it must have engaged your attention, and that of Mr. Belsham, I cannot help wishing you would reprint that tract, with such additions, &c., as may occur to you.

I have now completely transcribed, as well as composed, the continuation of my Church History, to the Reformation; but I have yet much to do in revising it, and comparing different accounts. I have also to draw up an account of writers in all the periods, and a short sketch of political events, so that I think it advisable to defer the printing of the work a year longer. The farther I advance, the more convinced I am of the importance of the work, and I shall spare no pains to make it as perfect as I can.

I must at present, however, suspend all farther progress in this work, for the sake of preparing some discourses, to deliver in Philadelphia. They will relate chiefly to the evidences of revelation, and I must contrive to make them different from any that I have printed. There is something very remarkable in the progress of infidelity in this country, but I am more astonished with respect to some particular persons in England, and especially Unitarians. Others, however, at least a sufficient number, will rise up, better qualified to fill the places of those whose apostacy we regret the most. Mr. Hawkes says there are many Unitarians in the academy at Northampton,* and others may arise where we least expect them. In the mean time, the apostacy of some will try and purify and increase the zeal of others. This state of things will also produce better and clearer defences of revelation than any we have yet seen; and the opponents will be more effectually confounded by the reason to which they appeal; and, what is of more consequence, the superiority of the truly Christian character, above that of unbelievers, will be more apparent to the truly serious and discerning. Christianity will lose no-

* Then under the superintendence of the late Rev. John Horsey. See M. R. VII. 732.

thing by the apostacy of the luke-warm, the ill-informed, or the worldly-minded.

Since I wrote the above we have heard from Miss Russells, in which they say nothing of Boston, but enlarge much in praise of Middletown, in Connecticut, from which they write, so that they seem disposed to settle there. I shall, however, meet him in Philadelphia.

I rejoice to hear so good an account of Messrs. Palmer and Muir,* and hope their exile will serve for the furtherance of the gospel, and the cause of liberty. I hope that you or Mr. Johnson pay my subscription of five guineas annually to them, and two to Mr. Winterbotham.† I also wish Mr. Johnson will send me all his publications. I see by the papers that he is very industrious. Happily, these persecutions are now over. A person lately from England says, nothing hurt the interest of the Court so much as the issue of those prosecutions, from which so much was expected, and nothing produced. Still, however, I fear that peace is at a great distance. The landing of so many British troops on the coast of France looks like a determination to push the war to all extremities. With you, the fate of that measure, which we have but just heard of, is already known.

I hope you have, long before this, received the letter that contained one for Mrs. Rayner, and also, that the Duke of Grafton and Mr. Tayleur have received those I wrote to them. Mrs. P. is recovered from a very long illness, and we are all tolerably well.‡

TO REV. R. SCOLEFIELD.§

DEAR FRIEND,

THAT I have not written to you, as well as to my other friends, before this time, you will not, I am sure, ascribe to any disrespect, but a presumption that you would, in some way or other, hear every thing concerning me that was known to others, and it did not seem very material by what channel

* See *supra*, pp. 221, 226 note *.

† *Orig.* MS.

‡ See *supra*, p. 206.

§ Birmingham.

the intelligence was conveyed. Indeed, except a general outline of my new situation, which you could not well miss having, I had nothing of much importance to communicate.

I have at length found a settlement quiet enough, and where I shall have more leisure for all my pursuits than ever I had yet; though I have not as yet such a sphere of active exertion as I had in England. At first this gave me some uneasiness, as I wished for nothing more than to conclude my race in the same manner in which I had run it. But it has pleased the Sovereign Disposer of all things to order it otherwise, and at present I have no regular business as a preacher. I do preach, however, occasionally, and we have always a service among ourselves, though attended by very few, every Lord's-day, and I shall spend about two months every year at Philadelphia, or some of the larger towns, and preach all the time I am there. But if I have done any good, it has not been so much by preaching as by writing, and in that way I can do more than ever, if there be any call for it. I can also prosecute my experiments to more advantage than you would imagine, though not so well as when I was at Birmingham or Hackney. The person who takes this letter to England, takes to Philadelphia a paper of experiments, which I have made since my arrival, for the Philosophical Society in that place, and I shall very soon send another, so that I am not idle in this way. When my house is built, and my laboratory completed, I shall hope to do more still.

In theology I have printed a few small articles, which you either have seen or will see, and I have continued my Church History, to the Reformation. In a year or two more, if nothing of more importance interfere, I may bring the History to the present time, or near it, and then I hope I shall have done an useful work.

The defection of so many Unitarians in England astonishes me. Still, however, none, I believe, have fallen who ever were serious Christians; and that men whose chief object is advancement in the world, or who have a disposition to gaiety or pleasure, should become unbelievers, is surely not surprising.

The person who takes this is Dr. Young, who has been a physician in this place, but has a strong passion to make the tour of Europe. He is determined to see Birmingham, being fond of curious arts. I shall take it as a favour to myself if you will procure him a sight of any thing he may wish to see. To me he has been the most friendly of men. I hope he will return and settle here, after all. If so, he will be again my near neighbour.

Should peace return, I cannot express the pleasure it would give to pay my friends in England a visit before I die, and sometimes I do not despair of it. In that case I shall certainly visit Birmingham, which I take it for granted I may then do without any apprehension of danger.

We often think and talk of you and your sister, and the satisfaction we had in your neighbourhood. I give you joy on the marriage of your niece, and hope it will be a happy connexion in all respects. My sons are all farmers, and, on the whole, we are already very comfortable, and hope our situation will improve every year. Mr. Russell will hardly settle here. He seems to give the preference to the New-England States, which I regret much. But I do not want much society, and my wife is still more indifferent to it. Many of the people are as sensible and friendly as any in England. But we did not come hither for the sake of improving in that respect, and cannot be disappointed.

Give my best respects to your sister, Mr. Coates, and any of our common friends.

P. S. Do not fail to write to me, directing to John Vaughan, Esq., Philadelphia.*

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.†

DEAR FRIEND, *Northumberland, Dec. 17, 1795.*

I THINK that in my last, of the 7th instant, I mentioned Harry's being indisposed, in consequence, we imagined, of his attending his lime-kiln in the night. It proved to be a more

* *Orig.* MS. among the *autographs* of the late Mr. S. Parkes.

† Essex Street.

serious illness than we or the physician imagined. He grew worse till the 11th, when he died, it is now almost certain, of an inflammation and mortification of the stomach. Having had little or no apprehension of danger till near the time of his death, the shock, you may suppose, was very great, and being the first event of the kind, I am affected more than I thought I should have been, though I have unspeakable consolation in believing that nothing can befall us without the appointment of the best of Beings, and that we shall meet our departed children and friends in a better state.*

He had recovered from an ague, which was common in this part of the country, this summer; but after this he had frequent colds, from exposing himself to cold and wet, and not taking proper care of himself afterwards, which certainly laid the foundation of his subsequent and last illness.

Had he been bred a farmer, he could not have been more assiduous than he was. He was admired by every body for his unremitting labour, as well as good judgment, in the management of his business, though only eighteen years old. With respect to his ardour in his pursuits, he was more like what I was at his age than any of my children, though our objects were very different. He was strictly virtuous, and was uncommonly beloved by all that worked under him; and it was always said that he was better served than any other farmer in this country. He had a sense of honour and generosity which, I am sorry to say, is not common here. I hope, therefore, that he had the foundation of something in his character, on which a good superstructure may be raised hereafter. We thought his temper, and even his looks, altered for the worse by the severe illness he had at Hackney; but it is remarkable, that some time before his death, (as his mother, who never left him, says,) and very visibly afterwards, he had the same sweet, placid, and even cheerful countenance, that he had when he was young, much like that of his sister, whom, at that time, he greatly resembled. I never saw the countenance of a dead person so pleasing, and so it continued till he

* See an interesting relation, by an attendant on the funeral, I. 208.

was buried. Even this seemingly trifling circumstance gives me much satisfaction. I know you and Mrs. Lindsey will excuse my writing so much about myself and family. I could not write so much to any body else.

I am composing, with as much care as I can, a set of discourses, to be delivered at Philadelphia, on the evidences of revelation, and similar subjects. I have finished two, and have got materials for a third, on the enormities of the ancient heathen worship, of which the generality of modern unbelievers know nothing at all, and which are strangely coloured over by Voltaire and others; while they load the Jewish system with every abuse. In another discourse I shall shew the superiority of that system to any others.

My wife is much affected, as you will suppose, by the death of Harry; but, at the same time, discovers proper fortitude. By her constant attendance upon him, she has made herself ill, but seems to be getting better.*

TO MR. RUSSELL.†

DEAR SIR,

Northumberland, Dec. 30, 1795.

YOURS of the 6th instant I received only yesterday, and find you had not received one that I directed to you at Boston. This, I hope, will find you safely arrived at Philadelphia, where I hope to join you in about six weeks; an event to which I look forward with pleasure.

Since I wrote last we have lost poor Harry. What we feel on this occasion you will judge from your own feelings, in a similar situation. Being the first loss of the kind that I have experienced, it affects me very much indeed, and my wife no less. I am, however, perfectly satisfied that this, as well as every other dispensation of Providence, is right, and will hereafter appear to have been so. I do not, however, at all think of him as to this world, or as any particular loss to myself; but only as to another, where I have no doubt I shall meet him again, and as I believe he had a good mind, and no vices,

* *Orig. MS.*

† Philadelphia.

I hope to meet him in favourable circumstances. He died a sacrifice to a want of care of himself, exposing himself to cold and wet; and the nature of his illness was not at all understood till it was too late. It was an inflammation, I do not doubt, and mortification of the stomach, or some of the intestines.

My wife is now far from being well, and I fear is not likely to be so soon. Should she be no better than she is at present, I cannot think of leaving her: otherwise, you may depend upon seeing me at the time I have mentioned. I am composing a set of discourses on subjects relating to the evidences of revelation. Six I have nearly transcribed, and I think eight will be enow.

You speak very highly of Middletown, as you did of Boston, and that part of the country in general. I therefore suppose you will settle there, and I sincerely wish you much happiness there, though the circumstance will be felt by me as a disappointment of a very sensible kind. If I was undetermined, I would certainly choose to fix wherever you should be; but if I was not so fixed here as never to think of removing, which is the case, I should, from any thing that I have heard of the eastern country, give the preference to this, in most respects, though not in all. However, while I am able to travel, I shall hope to meet you every winter, and with this I must be satisfied.

With every good wish to yourself and family, in which my wife heartily joins me, I am, dear Sir, yours affectionately.*

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.†

DEAR FRIEND,

Feb. 12, 1796.

I AM happy in having two of your letters before me, and as many of Mr. Belsham's. The satisfaction I have from this is what you can hardly conceive, without being in my situation. It is only now and then that I can receive a parcel from England, and I consider that as a great day, and read the pamphlets or newspapers with singular satisfaction.

* *Orig. MS.*

† *Essex Street.*

I am glad that you have got my *Observations on the Increase of Infidelity*, and that you like any part of the pamphlet so well as to think it worth while to reprint it. You think my expectation of the second coming of Christ, and the millenium, a little visionary; and therefore do not wish to have them brought forward. However, the sentiment that offends you in this pamphlet, is in my last *Fast Sermon*, and more enlarged upon.* It can hardly be thought by any person who reads my publications, or this last pamphlet, that I have any doubt with respect to the sufficiency of the evidence of revelation. But my doubt relates to the sufficient degree of attention that we can procure to it, and without this it is impossible that it should produce its proper effect. I think it is clear that our Saviour supposed, not only that his second coming would be most unexpected, but that, at the time, there would be a very general unbelief with respect to its ever taking place. And what he thought proper to intimate, I see no impropriety or inconvenience in saying after him.

I must, however, acknowledge, I never had such apprehensions of the difficulty of engaging a sufficient degree of attention to the evidences of Christianity as I have had of late. Recent facts force attention, and this was the case at the promulgation of Christianity. But though, in several respects, the evidence is even stronger now than it was then, it does not obtrude itself. It requires a voluntary effort to attend to it; and many things so pre-occupy the mind, as wholly to prevent that attention being given it. We must not, however, despair, and some good will result from every endeavour. I shall, therefore, devote myself chiefly to this object, in some measure flattering myself that I am particularly called to it, and let my success be ever so little, I shall, with peculiar satisfaction, give my time and best application to it.

I am now on my way to Philadelphia, with a new set of *Discourses on the Evidences of Revelation*, which I shall probably publish soon after, if any person will run the risk of printing them. They are different from the set I have already

* See W. XV. 540.

published, and may well be subjoined to them. I will just mention the subjects.

1. The Importance of Religion. 2. The Superior Value of Revealed Religion, compared to Natural Religion. 3, 4. A Comparison of the Heathen Religion to the Jewish and Christian. 5, 6. The Superiority of the Principles of Revealed Religion to the Maxims and Opinions of the Heathen Philosophers. 7, 8. The Evidence of the Miracles in favour of the Mosaic and Christian Dispensations, considered jointly. 9, 10. The Evidence from Prophecy. 11. The Impossibility, from Internal Evidence, of Jesus being an Impostor. 12. The Moral Influence of Christianity. The fifth and sixth Discourses I was led to, by reading Dr. Enfield's History of Philosophy, which is a pleasing and valuable work; and I hope you will think I have made a good use of it.

Besides the above-mentioned Discourses, I have another, which I once intended to be the first that I should preach in Philadelphia or New York. This I shall, if I see occasion, preach after the preceding. In the former I shall appear in the character of a *Christian*, and in this in that of an *Unitarian*.

Philadelphia, Feb. 15, 1796.

I arrived here on Thursday, after a very good journey, accompanied by my daughter-in-law, in my son's Yarmouth waggon, which, by means of a seat constructed of straw, was very easy.

I am a guest with Mr. Russell, where I am very agreeably accommodated. We found him engaged to drink tea with the President,* where we accompanied him, and spent two hours as in any private family. He invited me to come at any time, without ceremony. Every thing here is the reverse of what it is with you.† Indeed, I do not suppose there ever was any

* Washington.

† There, "they who are greatest, yet are not elevated above their brethren, live soberly in their families, walk the streets as other men, may be spoken to, freely, familiarly, friendly, without adoration. Whereas a king must be adored like a demigod, with a dissolute and haughty court about him, of vast expense and luxury, on the public revenue." Milton's "Ready and Easy

country in the world in a more flourishing and promising way. I wish all my friends, with you, were here, provided they could subsist and be happy. But great numbers find themselves, on one account or other, disappointed, and return, I understand, with very unfavourable ideas of the country; and for this I see no remedy. I have been careful not to encourage any person to emigrate, though I admire this country very much.

I have the use of Mr. Winchester's pulpit every morning, and yesterday preached my first sermon to a very numerous, respectable, and very attentive audience.* I was told there was

Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth, 1660." *Works*, (1697,) p. 363. See Sir Thomas Smith, W. XXIV. 451, *note*; Berkeley, *supra*, p. 240; Wansey's visit to the President, *Excursion*, pp. 108—113.

* In 1822, Mrs. Hart, of Exeter, who had been one of Dr. Priestley's congregation at Philadelphia, communicated to her brother, Mr. Samuel Hart, these interesting recollections:

"It is now nearly five and twenty years since I was in America, having sailed therefrom for England in the spring of 1798, and in the lapse of a quarter of a century many circumstances have faded from my mind: at your request, however, I will, with cheerfulness, endeavour to call back to remembrance the occurrences of those long-departed days. It is ever a pleasure to me to reflect on the character of the late Mr. Winchester, in which were combined uniformity of Christian conduct and deportment, with great urbanity and benevolence of heart; and what renders his memory peculiarly estimable to me, was that artlessness of manners, singularly his own, and an unaffected liberality which he manifested towards Dr. Priestley, the first winter the Doctor came down to Philadelphia to preach, and for which I was quite unprepared.

"The congregations that attended were so numerous that the house could not contain them, so that as many were obliged to stand as sit, and even the door-ways were crowded with people. Mr. Vice-President Adams was among the regular attendants, and, to the best of my recollection, Mr. Winchester was never absent, and he constantly gave out the hymns when that excellent man Dr. P. did not read them himself.

"On the floor, directly in front of the pulpit, and close to it, was placed a long seat, with back and arms, and a table before it: on this seat, which was generally occupied by elderly men, members of the Universalist Society, Mr. Winchester would take his place, unless he went into the pulpit with the Doctor, it being large enough to hold several: this I need not say was a strong mark of friendly-heartedness and liberality, and, in fact, gave umbrage, together with his acting as the Doctor's clerk, to some of his own people." M. R. XVIII. 41, 42. See *supra*, p. 266, *note* †.

a great proportion of the members of Congress, though the notice of my preaching was very imperfect. I see a good prospect of establishing an Unitarian congregation in this city, and have promised to officiate every winter without any salary, which I shall absolutely refuse, provided I can lodge with a friend, which, I fancy, will always be easy. We only want a reputable minister to reside all the year. I hope, however, to establish, *pro tempore*, at least, a society with a liturgy, and without any minister. Mr. Russell thinks it very practicable. I propose to be here two months, and in that time shall feel my way better.

I cannot accept of your generous benefaction, except as a loan, or for some public use in this country. The times are difficult enough with you, and must add to your expenses.

I shall probably write again soon. I hope I shall come here to good purpose. Yours and Mrs. Lindsey's most affectionately.*

TO REV. T. BELSHAM.†

DEAR SIR,

Philadelphia, March 5, 1796.

I MENTIONED to Mr. Lindsey the plan of a course of sermons I am delivering here, on the Evidences of Revealed Religion, different from those that I published in England, and dedicated to you.‡ I have delivered *three* of them to very crowded audiences, great numbers not being able to get into the place. I am told that the greater part of the members of Congress are my hearers, and intend to continue so. I have promised to come two or three months in the winter during the sitting of Congress, till a resident minister can be provided. But I shall be able to write more fully on this subject before I leave this place.

Many persons, I find, attend no public worship, not from infidelity, but because there is no place where they can attend with satisfaction, or without disgust; and in general their infidelity arises from ignorance and inattention to the subject, and

* *Orig. MS.*

† Hackney.

‡ "March, 1794." See W. XV. 193.

not from a disposition to cavil, so that I have much more hopes of them than I had. But there is a great want of sensible preachers. As many persons have expressed a wish to see the sermons I am delivering, I shall print them while I am here, and send you copies the first opportunity.

I am much obliged to you for your notes on the *Revelation*. It is impossible not to give much attention to the subject of *prophecy* in these times. The most difficult circumstance appears to me to be the death, resurrection, and ascension of the *witnesses*, which may yet be future. I cannot say that I agree with you with respect to the *flood* which helped the woman, though you had the hint from me. I have just seen a treatise, entitled *Harmonie des Prophéties*, by C. de Loys, printed at Lausanne, (1774,) which I like much, though he was mistaken in predicting the fall of the Turkish empire, 1769, or the war which commenced at that time. His illustration of the prophecies concerning the papal power is particularly excellent.

I have no intention of publishing any thing on the subject of prophecy, though I much wish to make up my mind with respect to some particulars, especially the eleventh of Daniel. They who apply all the latter part of it to Antiochus Epiphanes, advance many plausible things; but I am persuaded that hypothesis will not do, as it is immediately connected with the restoration of the Jews in the twelfth chapter. There must be great chasms in the prophecy, but that is not unprecedented, and all the great features of history are noticed.

Here I find a large box from Mr. Johnson, which has lain in the Custom House some months. It contains your brother's excellent History, which I have hurried through, and admire exceedingly. I shall read the whole at leisure in the country. The box contains many other articles, and I cannot give you an idea of the satisfaction I feel in opening a package of *English books and pamphlets*. It is a treasure to me. I shall now put things in better train for their being transmitted sooner. The officers at the Custom House are disposed to be as civil as possible.

We have had no arrivals from England about a month, and

are very anxious for news from you. We sometimes hope for peace, but I do not expect any that will be stable, and followed by tranquillity within yourselves.*

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.†

DEAR FRIEND,

Philadelphia, April 8, 1796.

AFTER having had no advices from Europe for seventy-five days, (the longest interval of the kind that any person here remembers,) we all rejoice in hearing news, and I in receiving letters from you and Mr. Belsham.

I think I wrote to Mr. Belsham after I had been here one Sunday. I have now preached six, and with more acceptance, if I may judge from appearances, than I could have imagined, the congregations having always been numerous, and most respectable; and it is evident that I am heard with more attention than was given to me in any place before. A considerable proportion of the members of Congress, and all the principal officers of state, are my constant hearers. As Mr. Adams, the Vice-President, is most punctual in his attendance, and an old acquaintance and correspondent, I shall dedicate the discourses I am delivering to him.‡

I am myself surprised to find to how great a degree the violent prejudice that had been raised against me is overcome. Many of my hearers were those who were the most prejudiced, and great numbers such as never attended any public worship before. I daily hear of the impression that my discourses make on those who were the most averse to every thing relating to religion. There is no doubt now of our being able to form a very respectable society of Unitarians, and we are taking measures for the purpose. There is really a noble harvest here. We want nothing but able labourers.

I have received a large box, containing a treasure of things, from Mr. Johnson. I have also just now received a box, containing, I believe, the books you mention in your last, and

* *Orig. MS.*

† *Essex Street.*

‡ See *Dedication*, "Philadelphia, May 1796." W. XVI. 3.

which are most welcome; but I wish I had mentioned particular books, (though I might not know in all respects what I wanted,) for I had Giannone in Italian, which I read, readily, and shall not fail to make use of it; but really Fleury seems to contain almost every fact, of consequence, and, with respect to the claims of the court of Rome, is as unexceptionable as Giannone. I hope I shall make the work an useful one; but I must have recourse to my friends (and Mr. Russell will be one) to assist with respect to the printing of it. My friends here undertake the printing of the sermons. I freely give my labour, but I cannot well (as I could wish) do more. I thank you for the inclosures. Every thing from England interests me.

Neither my wife nor myself can cease to think, with considerable emotion, of poor Harry; and the event makes us more indifferent to life than before. While I live, I shall endeavour to be as useful as I can; and, though with this drawback, I am very happy, and, I hope, truly resigned.*

TO REV. T. BELSHAM.†

DEAR SIR,

Philadelphia, April 8, 1796.

MY letters cannot give more pleasure to you than yours do to me, though sometimes their contents are not of a pleasant nature. I am particularly concerned for the fate of the college,‡ which seems to be unavoidable, but I rejoice that your continuance at Hackney is secured by the congregation, the flourishing state of which gives me particular pleasure.

I shall always think with great satisfaction of the time I spent with you. It was indeed, on the whole, perhaps the happiest period of my life.§ Here, though I am as happy as this country can make me, and I have great reason to be thankful for my situation, both as an asylum from persecution, and as promising a sphere of usefulness, I do not feel as I did in England. The separation from old friends, and the impossibility at my time of life of supplying their place by new ones, is sensibly felt, but this circumstance makes me think

* *Orig.* MS.

† Hackney College.

‡ Finally closed, June 1796.

§ See I. 118.

more than ever of the time when I hope to meet you all again, and this I find to be an increasing source of satisfaction. The death of Harry, unexpected till the day in which it happened, contributes much to give my thought this turn. I think I can say with truth, that hardly five minutes have passed in which it does not in some way or other occur to me; but it is only a pleasing kind of melancholy with which I am affected by it.

Mr. Lindsey will tell you how my preaching is received here, as I write to him this opportunity, and you will see him. The attention that is given to me far exceeds my expectations, and I hope will prepare the way for something more permanent. What strikes my hearers most, is the comparison I have at some length drawn between the religion of the Hebrews and that of the Heathens, and also of their philosophy, which I have now finished.* Every thing that I have advanced on these subjects seemed to be perfectly new to almost every body here.

Do not fail to send me Mr. Cogan's tract.† I have received your edition of my "Observations on the Increase of Infidelity."‡ I am glad that Mr. Lindsey has published it as he liked best, though I do not see his reasons for all his omissions. An edition of 14,000 copies of Paine's Second Part is just received here. I think to notice it in my preface. It is too absurd to reply to in a separate work. Mr. Wakefield's Reply is nothing but an example of ingenious modes of expressing contempt.§

I rejoice in your design to write to me every month. I hope you will keep to it, whether I be so punctual or not.||

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.¶

DEAR FRIEND,

Philadelphia, May 3, 1796.

I AM not a little disappointed in several ships arriving from England, especially the William Penn from London, and

* See W. XVI. 35—116.

† "Reflections on the Evidences of Christianity." See *N. A. Reg.* XVII. [179.]

‡ See W. XVII. 3, 9, note *.

§ Their replies to the first Part had produced a "Vindication of the Age of Reason, in Answer to the Strictures of Mr. Gilbert Wakefield and Dr. Priestley, by Thomas Dutton." See *N. A. Reg.* XVI. [198.]

|| *Orig.* MS.

¶ Essex Street.

bringing me no letters. Others, however, are daily expected, and I indulge hopes.

I have now delivered all my discourses on the Evidences of Revelation, except the closing one, which will be of a practical nature. I shall also give another in the character of an Unitarian, which is universally expected, and for which my hearers are now sufficiently prepared.

All the profit that may arise from the sale of the Discourses will be appropriated to the fitting up a place for Unitarian worship, which we have in view. The next winter I am to have the use of the University common hall, which is more central than the place I have used. It is generally used for the accommodation of particular congregations, when their places of worship are repairing, or for strangers. By the deed, a very strict Calvinistic creed is required to be subscribed, but it has never been actually required, except when, for other reasons, the trustees wished to exclude a preacher. It was apprehended by some that I should have been excluded on this pretence; and there were some, especially the Episcopalians, who, I doubt not, wished to exclude me; but my discourses having been very popular, and altogether unexceptionable, not one of the board chose to make any objection.

I had a trial of the candour of my audience, when, in one of my discourses, I detailed the opinions of the heathen philosophers, and, among the rest, their doctrine of a soul distinct from the body, as contrary to that of the Scriptures. I gave satisfaction, I was told, to many who were most attached to the common opinion, and who had declared that nothing I could say should convince them, and I believe I did not give the least offence to any person. I had prepared them for it, by apprizing them, at the close of the preceding discourse, that my argument would make it necessary for me to touch upon that subject, which would probably shock their prejudices. In consequence of this notice, the place was exceedingly crowded, and the attention given to me very great. I have little doubt now but that I shall be heard with the same candour when I deliver my last discourse, though on subjects which would otherwise give the greatest offence.

The books you have been so good as to send me will be exceedingly useful to me; but I shall consider them as yours, to be disposed of as you shall hereafter direct. The Juvenal was the same that I had lost. When I return to Northumberland, I shall stick close to my Church History. If you can think of any thing that will throw light on the History, near the present time, be so good as to send it.

After a long discussion, the House of Representatives have voted, by a majority of three, for carrying the treaty with England into execution.* Having much leisure, I have attended to hear much of the debate, and have heard as good speaking as in your House of Commons, and much more decorum. A Mr. Amos speaks as well as Mr. Burke; but, in general, the speakers are more argumentative, and less rhetorical. And whereas there are not with you more than ten or a dozen tolerable speakers, here every member is capable of speaking, which makes interesting debates tedious. A good account of the speeches is taken by short-hand writers, who have a desk for the purpose, and, I believe, many of the speakers correct them afterwards. As the speeches on this occasion are printed, I will send them to you. The members for the northern states are in general in favour of the treaty, and those from the southern, against it. I am well acquainted with both, and they do not avoid one another, as the heads of parties do in England; and when once any thing is decided by fair voting, all contention ceases.

I leave this place in less than a fortnight; but if, in the mean time, I hear from you, I shall write again. We long to hear of any thing that looks like peace, but I fear it is at a great distance. This country is getting rich by the folly of Europe.†

Dr. Priestley was now returning to Northumberland, where he had left Mrs. Priestley, whom a disinclination to reside in the American cities‡ had deterred from accompanying him. For the following “Recollections and

* See *supra*, p. 267.

† Orig. MS.

‡ See *supra*, p. 266 note *.

Anecdotes" of his visit to Philadelphia, I am indebted to a gentleman of that city, a near and intelligent observer, whose very friendly communications, which I shall here quote, I have had, already, occasion to acknowledge:*

Dr. Priestley was remarkably frank and easy of access, and, in company, perfectly unassuming, never attempting to take the lead in conversation, but always ready to accommodate himself to the taste and wishes of others. He was neither taciturn nor talkative; and it may be truly said, that whatever prejudices had been previously entertained against him, on account of his theological opinions, by those who knew him only as a polemical writer, were removed on a personal acquaintance.

During a time of great political excitement, he dined with a Presbyterian, whose political opinions were similar to his own. Among other guests, were two Presbyterian ministers, whose politics were opposite to those of Dr. Priestley and his host. When the junior clergyman was asked for a toast, he gave "Unity of sentiment in religion and politics." Soon after, Dr. Priestley being called on, he looked significantly first at the master of the house, and then at the author of the former toast, and proposed "Candour, when there cannot be unity of sentiment in religion and politics." The young man felt abashed, and soon retired.

With the sedateness suited to his age and professional character, was combined habitual cheerfulness; and although strict, as regarded himself, no one could be more liberal as respected other persons.† It will be easily imagined that the society of a man whose knowledge was so extensive, and whose manners were so winning, was eagerly sought and highly valued.

Had Dr. Priestley lived thirty years later, and come here in

* *Supra*, p. 264, note.

† "He said, and acted on the persuasion, that one glass of wine at dinner was enough for an old man, but he did not prescribe his own practice as an universal rule."

1824, instead of 1794, he would have found many eminent Unitarian ministers, and many devoted friends. His heart would have rejoiced while he witnessed the spread of those opinions which he regarded as the simplicity of the glorious gospel, and the increasing liberality which may be said to distinguish the present age. Yet, although proscribed as a theologian, he was respected for his talents, revered for his virtues, and beloved for his pleasing and simple manners, by men who were shocked at his heterodoxy, and who shuddered while they contemplated the imminent danger of his soul.

Yet, even at that time, we had liberal-minded men among the orthodox; in the foremost of which stood the excellent and now (1830) venerable Bishop White,* who paid Dr. Priestley the most marked and respectful attention, and to this day reveres and honours his memory. With the late Drs. Ewing† and Andrews, Provost and Vice-Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, he was in habits of close intimacy.‡ Both occasionally attended him when he preached in Philadelphia, and Dr. Ewing advised several young persons belonging to his own congregation to attend the Discourses on the Evidences of Revealed Religion; “for,” said he, “you will hear from Dr. Priestley what you will not hear in any of the sermons usually delivered.” During his residence in the United States,

* To whom, and to “the Rev. Joseph Berington,” Dr. Priestley dedicated, in 1804, a very short time before his decease, his “Doctrines of the Heathen Philosophy compared with those of Revelation.” See W. XX. 369.

† Who died, 1803, aged 73. *Amer. Ann.* II. 413.

‡ “One Sunday, having been at Dr. Ewing’s church, he dined with Dr. Davidson, one of the Professors. Dr. Ewing being present, Dr. Priestley said to him, ‘While I was listening to your discourse, you almost made me fancy myself a young man.’ ‘Why so?’ asked Dr. Ewing. ‘Because,’ said Dr. Priestley, ‘I have not heard so much Calvinism since my youthful days.’

“After some further conversation, Dr. Priestley remarked, that although their creeds were different, he thought Dr. Ewing might allow him to preach a funeral sermon in his church for a gentleman whose monument was under his pulpit, and who, while he lived in England, was one of Dr. Priestley’s stated hearers; assuring Dr. Ewing, in his pleasant manner, that he would not say one word that would or could give offence. Catholic as Dr. Ewing was, and friendly as were his feelings towards Dr. Priestley, the latter well knew that such a permission might cost Dr. Ewing his living.” See *supra*, p. 277, note *.

he preached only one controversial discourse,* which was afterwards published. It formed no part of his plan of lectures, and was composed and delivered in consequence of the earnest solicitation of some of his friends.

A gentleman of New York, of excellent understanding, but a confirmed Calvinist, with whom I was in habits of friendly intercourse, although he had never seen Dr. Priestley, would frequently speak of him as a person of no vital religion, and as one with whom he would not choose to become intimately acquainted. Having occasion to visit Philadelphia, he called on me immediately on his arrival. Dr. Priestley was spending the afternoon with me, and my friend being seated next to the Doctor, seemed so much engaged in conversation with him, that he had little to say to any one else.

On taking his leave, to my astonishment he exclaimed, "Who is that delightful old gentleman I have been conversing with?" for when introduced he had not attended to the name. As I naturally concluded that the bare mention of this would instantly destroy the charm, I was in no haste to gratify his curiosity; but when the question was repeated and answered, he replied, with his usual frankness, "All that I have formerly said respecting Dr. Priestley is nonsense. I have now seen him for myself, and, remember, I will never forgive you if you do not put me in the way of seeing more of him."

At Philadelphia, Dr. Priestley's name is often mentioned with admiration and warm feeling by those who knew his worth, and who, notwithstanding their difference of religious belief, courted his society, and cultivated his friendship. A very few years ago, when a young popular preacher spoke of Dr. Priestley in the pulpit as similar to Hume and Voltaire, the injustice of the comparison was openly complained of by many worthy persons of different denominations, who were old enough to remember with what ability and effect Dr. Priestley

* "One of his orthodox friends having told him that he intended to be one of his hearers, the Doctor instantly intreated him not to come and hear him on that day, and said, 'I must necessarily say things which you will hear with pain, and perhaps displeasure. Now this would grieve me, and, at your time of life, I cannot hope to change your opinions.'"

had pleaded the cause of divine revelation at Philadelphia, particularly in those discourses delivered in 1796.

It was reported, by some of the opposite party in theology, that towards the close of life Dr. Priestley became more orthodox. The fact is not so; though it is certainly true that he held no opinion after he was convinced of its fallacy; and so humble-minded was he, that he was always willing to learn. He might be truly styled a devotee of truth, and one of the best of men.

TO REV. T. BELSHAM.*

DEAR SIR,

Northumberland, May 29, 1796.

I AM now returned from Philadelphia, after being much disappointed in not receiving any letter from you or Mr. Lindsey the two last months. The arrival of every fresh ship raised my expectations, but none of them brought any thing for me.

My visit much more than answered my expectations. In my last to you and Mr. Lindsey I mention the crowded audiences I had, consisting of the most respectable persons in the city. This continued to the last, and my concluding Unitarian sermon was heard with as much attention as any, and, I have reason to think, made considerable impression.† A num-

* Hackney College. See *supra*, p. 4, note §.

† "At the close of the course," says Mrs. Hart, (see *supra*, p. 333,) "Dr. Priestley gave notice that, on the Sunday following, he intended to preach directly on the person of Christ, explaining the Unitarians' view of the subject, and that the Lord's Supper would be celebrated at the conclusion of that service: this intimation produced a sensation indeed, among the Philadelphians; they were puzzled, not being able to conceive what Unitarians or Deists, as they termed them, had to do with it.

"However, the Unitarians were glad to assemble round the table of their Lord, especially with such a ministering servant of their profession; and I greatly mistake if Mr. Winchester did not give an indisputable and unambiguous testimony of Christian love and forbearance in partaking with them; unhappily, too, as by so doing he increased the offence before given to some of his more rigid adherents, in his friendly demeanour to Dr. Priestley. Afternoons and evenings, Mr. Winchester resumed his ministerial labours in his own pulpit, and afternoons Dr. Priestley was as attentive a hearer as in the morning he had been an excellent speaker.

"On the same day that Dr. Priestley gave out his next Sunday's subject

ber of young men are determined to form themselves into a congregation, and to meet regularly for public worship, whether they get a minister or not. After this beginning, there cannot be any doubt but that an Unitarian preacher of good character, and especially a good speaker, would soon have the most respectable congregation in the place.

Both my sets of Discourses and the single Sermon will be sent to you and Mr. Lindsey. The demand for them is so great, that the bookseller expected to sell the whole impression in a month. In this, however, I dare say he will be disappointed. I am now sitting down to finish for the press the continuation of my Church History, which I have brought to the Reformation.

I think as little as possible about politics, but I cannot help being anxious about my friends in England. Do not fail, therefore, to inform me of the general aspect of things with you. Here, every thing is most promising. Earnestly wishing that your situation and prospects were as good as ours, I am, dear Sir, yours sincerely.

P. S. I imagine Dr. Crawford's* thermometers and other instruments have been disposed of long ago. I should have been glad to purchase them. They were such as had never been made before, and may not be made again for a long time. He had got me two of that construction which were destroyed in the riots in Birmingham. I wish to resume the subject.†

TO MR. RUSSELL.‡

DEAR SIR,

Northumberland, June 2, 1796.

As my wife wrote to Miss Russell, I did not think it neces-

to be Unitarianism, after their own service it was notified that Mr. Winchester would, by desire, on that evening, defend the doctrine of the Trinity. He did preach about it to the dissatisfaction of many of his friends, and many more thought he had been peculiarly unhappy that evening in wielding the weapons of Trinitarianism. His general preaching was on the love of God." M. R. XVIII. 42. See "Unitarian Miscellany," VI. 70.

* A much-esteemed physician, then lately deceased, who had been distinguished on some branches of chemical science.

† *Orig.* MS.

‡ No. 319, Market Street, Philadelphia.

sary to trouble you with a letter at the same time. I hope I need not say how happy I was, under your truly hospitable roof. Indeed, I do not know what I could have done in such a place, where every thing and every person were strange to me, without such a resource. As it is an obligation that I can never return, you must place it to the account of the cause in which I was employed, and it will not be without its reward.

I wish much to hear what prospect there is of forming an Unitarian congregation in Philadelphia. How happy should I think myself, if circumstances favoured it, to assist in it, personally and continually!

If I come again, I will endeavour to get a class of young men, or young women, or both, to whom I may give regular lectures, in the more familiar manner to which I have been accustomed.

There are more symptoms of the rising prosperity of this place than you will easily believe. I found several new houses erected, and many more are now building. Our market-house, and a town-hall, with an assembly-room above it, is also in great forwardness. I am, however, well satisfied, that though this place is every thing that I want, it would not at all do either for you or your family. Many other situations, I am persuaded, would suit you much better.*

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.†

DEAR FRIEND, *Northumberland, June 12, 1796.*

I AM very seriously concerned that I have had no letter from you or Mr. Belsham these *three months*. The free communication of our sentiments, to persons who think and feel as we do, is the greatest charm of life, and it is impossible to do this with strangers as with old friends. This is an inconvenience inseparable from my situation. But what is this compared to the case of Marolles,‡ in a dungeon, and thousands of others,

* *Orig.* MS.

† Essex Street.

‡ The "history" of whose "sufferings," and those of "Le Fevre, upon the Revocation of the Edict of Nantz," Dr. Priestley republished, 1788, with a "Preface." See W. XXV. 320.

who perished in silence, unknown to any friend? I am truly thankful for the comforts I have, though I cannot help regretting those that I have lost.

I wish much to hear how you like the discourses I delivered at Philadelphia. I have not yet planned another set for the next winter, but I am thinking of it. Perhaps it will be on the gospel history, particularly with a view to its internal evidence.

I have just transcribed a small piece in answer to the new theory of chemistry. While I was in Philadelphia two papers of mine were printed for the Philosophical Transactions of that city.* Copies of them I also forwarded to you and other friends in England. The principal of them contains an account of experiments made since I have been here, militating with the new theory, which, though now almost universally received, I am well satisfied will not stand a rigorous examination.

I am chiefly employed about my Church History, in which I find the use of the books you were so good as to send me. I now miss the catalogues I had in England. Here, books of literature are not to be had at any price, nor would there be any sale for them if they were imported. That demand is not yet come. An English printer is just arrived at Northumberland, and I have some thoughts of printing the work by subscription, advertising that the profit, if there be any, will be appropriated to some public institution. I am very willing to give my labours, and shall be happy in so doing.

Miss Russell has been very ill, but is recovered. She thinks Dr. Rush saved her life by bleeding. The same treatment, I believe, would have saved Harry. But the will of God be done.†

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND, *Northumberland, July 28, 1796.*

IT is now more than four months since I have received any letter from you, and it gives me most serious concern. The

* See *supra*, p. 326.

† *Orig. MS.*

state of things, in a variety of respects, is such, that I am more anxious to hear from you than ever, and I do not know how to reconcile myself to your silence.

I gave you an account of the very favourable attention that was given to me at Philadelphia, and the probable good effect of my preaching there. It has been the means of establishing a society of Unitarians, without any minister, which, I hope, will be the means of doing more real service to the cause than even the forming a congregation with a regular minister; and yet I cannot help wishing that *one* such congregation could be fixed in all the large towns in this country.

Since my return I have stuck close to my Church History, and now have corrected it and completed it, by all that I could find of importance in *Giannone*, and other authors, and have it quite ready for the press, as far as the Reformation; and I am preparing to continue it to the present time. Very happily, I am provided with the histories of the Reformation, in all, or almost all, the countries in Europe, more than sufficient for such a *general* account as I must confine myself to. *Semler's**

* "John Solomon Semler," born, 1725, at Saalfeld, in Thuringia, became, "in 1757, Director of the Theological Seminary at Halle," where Griesbach was his pupil. "Foreseeing his death (1791) a considerable time," Semler contemplated it "with calmness, resignation, and hope. His friend, F. A. Wolf, the celebrated Editor of Homer, published an account of the interviews and conversations which he had with him in the days which preceded his dissolution." See "Biographical Sketch of J. S. Semler," M. R. XVI. 65, 72.

Semler's biographer having described circumstances which led him to study natural philosophy, and especially chemistry, says,

"In uniting a taste for these pursuits with those which were more strictly professional, he resembled our own Priestley; but the parallel is confined to this single circumstance. While Priestley enlarged the boundaries of science by his curious discoveries, Semler wasted his time in researches after the elixir of life and the philosopher's stone." *Ibid.* p. 69.

Having remarked that Semler "was too ardent a lover of truth to keep it back from the world, till he could present it in the form best calculated to attract admiration to himself, and connect his own name with his discoveries," the biographer adds,

"We trust that no one will think that we derogate from the respect due to the talents of Dr. Priestley, when we compare him with Semler, in this neglect of the polish of his writings and indifference to merely literary reputation. Had he published fewer works, had his pen been less prompt,

is, certainly, a very good book, but too concise and systematical, and not sufficiently Unitarian. The method, too, is more proper for teaching than for reading. I am much obliged to you for the set you sent.* Mine wanted the last volume. I want Burnet's large History of the Reformation; though I have his abridgment, which may answer my purpose.

I have just printed a Defence of the Doctrine of Phlogiston, against the new French theory, a small piece;† but which I expect to produce some effect. Mr. Dobson, a bookseller at Philadelphia,‡ prints it, at his own risk, and will send 500 copies to Mr. Johnson, and about forty copies for myself, which I wish you to distribute.

My house will not be finished till next Midsummer; but I hope to get the laboratory finished soon.§

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND, *Northumberland, Aug. 1, 1796.*

I AM this day made very happy, indeed, by the receipt of two letters from you, having not received any before, since soon

wherever error was to be attacked or truth defended, he would have retained a higher permanent rank as an author, but never could have given that powerful impulse to the public mind in his life-time which his unwearied activity and constant readiness for exertion enabled him to produce: and no doubt if the option had been formally presented to him, of incurring the charge of incorrectness, or limiting and delaying the usefulness of his works, while he brought their style and arrangement nearer to perfection, he would have chosen the former part of the alternative with a cheerful sacrifice of fame to duty." M. R. XVI. p. 136. See I. 18, *note*.

* Most probably, "*Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ, selecta capita*, 3 Tom. 8vo." Semler also published two volumes entitled, "*Commentarii Historici de antiquo Christianorum statu*," and another "*On the Proper Use of the Sources of Civil and Ecclesiastical History in the Middle Ages*." M. R. XVI. 139, 140.

† Entitled, in the "*New-York Medical Repository*" (I. 221), "*Considerations on the Doctrine of Phlogiston and the Decomposition of Water*." *Mem. of Priestley*, 8vo. p. 291.

‡ "The late Mr. Thomas Dobson, a most worthy man," Mr. James Taylor (see *supra*, p. 264, *note*) mentions "among Dr. Priestley's associates at Philadelphia."

§ *Orig. MS.*

after my arrival in Philadelphia. These came with a parcel containing Mr. Paine's pamphlet* and some newspapers, with advice of Darwin's second volume,† and the other things you are so kind as to send me.

I am not surprised at the news of Mr. Tayleur's death.‡ A happier exit and more promising for futurity no man can make. So, Mr. — gives up *his* hopes of immortality for such poor reasons as he alleges in his pamphlet. Such is my persuasion of the use of Christianity to elevate and improve the mind, that I cannot think highly of any man who rejects it. He certainly never knew or felt what it was. As he is not destitute of candour, perhaps some of my late discourses may be of use to him; but, *vestigia pauca retrorsum*. I should not wonder at his following Mr. — to atheism. Indeed, the great step is taken when a man abandons Christianity. But all this was foreseen and intended, and is, no doubt, for the best.

I am much pleased with your account of Mr. Winterbotham.§ We see, in his case, what Christianity can do. Remember me kindly to him, and double my benefaction if you think proper. I admire his industry and spirit, as well as his excellent temper. *Post, hæc neminesse juvabit*. He would be very useful here. Men's minds change with circumstances.

I wrote you a long letter three days ago. I feel much happier now than I did then. With my wife's best respects, I am yours and Mrs. Lindsey's most affectionately.||

TO REV. T. BELSHAM.¶

DEAR SIR,

Northumberland, Aug. 14, 1796.

BESIDES writing to you, when I was at Philadelphia, which

* Probably his "Decline and Fall of the English System of Finance."

† Of *Zoonomia*. See *supra*, p. 304, *ad fin*.

‡ See *supra*, p. 310.

§ Whom Mr. Lindsey frequently visited, as I have occasionally witnessed, in Newgate, during his imprisonment of four years, rendering to him, in various forms, the most liberal attentions. These Mr. Winterbotham would ever, through life, most gratefully acknowledge and justly appreciate. See *Mem. of Lindsey*, p. 359.

|| *Orig. MS.*

¶ Hackney.

I find, by Mr. Lindsey, you received, I wrote after my return; but as I keep no account but of the dates of my letters, I have no recollection of the subjects of them, and therefore you will often probably find repetitions, and perhaps some variations and contradictions in them, arising from my different views of things at different times.

I wish particularly to hear what you think of the Discourses which I delivered at Philadelphia. I am now composing others, to deliver the next winter, on the gospel history. As yet, I have only composed two, on the account Jesus has given of a resurrection and a future state; but I have not yet settled any general plan. I think, too, I shall give a discourse or two on the prophecies relating to the *great apostacy* and the *latter times*, having been reading and thinking much on that subject, though without having hit on any thing original respecting them.

Since my return from Philadelphia I have revised and completed my Church History, to the Reformation, and as I proceed with great regularity and assiduity, always performing the task I set myself, I have little doubt but that, in the space of a year or less, I shall have completed the whole to the present time. I am much interested in the history of Luther, as written by Beausobre; but I shall want materials for the history nearest to our own times. I shall expect some assistance from Dr. Toulmin's edition of Neale. However, the striking events in the ecclesiastical history of late years are not many, and the gradual progress of things will not require many words to describe. The great events are those we are now looking for.

We are impatient to hear news from England, having just heard of the success of the French in Italy, and have some faint hope that it may be the means of producing a general peace. Here we enjoy that great blessing, and the capital of this country is said to be prodigiously increased in consequence of the troubles in Europe. But this increase is attended with the increased price of every thing.

P. S. Give my respects to Mr. S. Palmer, and thank him

for his last letter and the heads of the Nonconformists. I shall write to him soon.*

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.†

DEAR FRIEND, *Northumberland, Sept. 11, 1796.*

THE day after I wrote my last, I received your three former letters, and after that another, so that I now have them complete, and shall not despair any more.

I wish much to know how you approve of the discourses I delivered at Philadelphia, and behold I have nearly composed another set before I can know that. I want, old as I am, such advice as you used to give me. I am still apt to be too precipitate, and to overlook many circumstances that you used to remind me of.‡ I must, however, do as well as I can. Those I am now composing are rather miscellaneous, but chiefly on the gospel history; and they all relate, directly or indirectly, to the evidences of Christianity.

One is on the moral object of the Jewish and Christian revelations; another, on the prophecies concerning Antichrist; another, on the doctrines of a resurrection and a future state, as taught by Christ himself, in which I collect and arrange every thing that he has said on the subject; and another I have nearly finished, on the great dignity of the character of Jesus, in which I go over his whole history. I hope you will think them, if you ever see them, considerably original and useful. I am planning others.

I do not know that I have more satisfaction from any thing I ever did, than from the lay Unitarian congregation I have been the means of establishing in Philadelphia. Mr. Gales (who was a printer in Sheffield) writes me word, that they increase, and that all who attend have increasing satisfaction in it. Six persons, chosen by ballot, are to direct every thing, and one of this number to administer the Lord's Supper. Mr. Russell says, that when he and Mr. Davy go to town for the winter,

* *Orig. MS.*

† *Essex Street.*

‡ *See I. 83, 84.*

they must get a larger room than they now have. It is the Common Hall in the college which I had engaged for myself. In our present circumstances, a society of this kind is better than one with a minister; it both prevents superstition and is propagated without expense.

Within this week I have been made happy by the receipt of the box of books containing the Life of Lorenzo de Medicis, &c., &c. This package has been a great treat to me. I have read Mr. Roscoe's work with much pleasure, though I did not get from it so much information as I expected. I was glad to find that so extraordinary a man was a Christian and truly pious. In that he resembled Petrarch. I have read almost the whole of the Life of Mr. Robinson. It is well written and useful; but I cannot think so highly of him as Mr. Dyer does, in any respect. I am obliged to Mr. Dyer for the book, and shall soon write to thank him for it.

I have made no experiments all this summer, one laboratory (if I can call it one) being deranged, and the other not yet built; but I hope to be in it in about a fortnight. I am thankful that I never had better health than I have in this country; but my wife is not better than she used to be in England. She has now kept her bed a week of a feverish complaint, which is pretty common in this neighbourhood, but I hope is getting better.

I had, lately, a letter from Sir John Sinclair, President of the Board of Agriculture in London, who says he hopes soon to see me in England and renew his acquaintance with me. Now, I do not remember ever to have known him. Here, too, a report is prevalent, Mr. Russell says, that I am about to return to England. This I cannot account for. Nobody, seeing what I do here, could suppose I ever meant to leave the place. Indeed, I was never more fixed in any thing than I am to end my days here; though I own, that if the aspect of things was favourable, it would give me the greatest pleasure to pay you a visit; but of that I have not the most distant expectation.

In my last I wrote to Mrs. Rayner, and, by the post, to the Duke. I hope you will always remember me gratefully to them both, and also to Dr. Heberden, whose accident gave me

much concern. Such men are the glory of our species. How greatly superior to such as Voltaire, the King of Prussia, and unbelievers in general! I hope to make some useful remarks on their correspondence, which I am reading. I want the king's posthumous works.*

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND, *Northumberland, Sept. 19, 1796.*

I NEVER stood in more need of friendship than I do now, and I am thankful that I am not destitute of it, here; though I could wish for a nearer communication with old, tried, and pious friends: and, after all, our chief refuge must be in God, whose providence, we cannot doubt, orders every thing for the best.

This day I bury my wife. She died on Saturday, after an illness of a fortnight. On Sunday morning she went to my son's, in whose house we have our service, but returned before we had begun, was seized with sickness, followed by a fever, which almost instantly affected her head, so that she had but little sense of any thing, and spake but very little till she died. She had, to appearance, suffered very much at some times; but died without any symptom of being in pain.

She had taken much thought in planning the new house, and now that it is far advanced, and promises to be every thing that she wished, she is removed to another. For activity in contriving and executing every thing usually done by women, and some things done by men, I do not think she ever had a superior, or in generosity and disinterestedness; always caring for others and never for herself. My loss is proportionably great, though I am thankful that she had been preserved so long. We have lived together more than thirty-four years.† She, as well as myself, was much affected with the death of Harry. Though it is now near nine months since he died, he has never been long out of my thoughts; but this will affect me much more; though I have abundant sources of consolation, for which I am truly thankful.

* *Orig. MS.*

† See I. 48, 49.

I read, with particular satisfaction, yesterday, to our own families, (for I admitted nobody else,) one of the discourses which I have composed for my next journey to Philadelphia, on the subject of a resurrection and a future state, as taught by Jesus.* In this, as well as all the other discourses on the gospel history, I take every opportunity of illustrating the internal evidence of Christianity, which, to the truly intelligent, is as strong as the external. I have three discourses on the authority assumed by Jesus, and the dignity with which he spake and acted,† which furnishes, in my opinion, an unanswerable evidence of his divine mission. The facts cannot otherwise be accounted for.

I think that, to relieve my mind in my present situation, I will make a progress through some parts of this continent‡ that I should not otherwise have visited; and then I shall take every opportunity of preaching such discourses as these; and, on the whole, I really believe I am in the way of doing more good, especially by promoting lay Unitarian societies, than I could by being a resident preacher. I thank God, my means will enable me to do this, though without much to spare.§

TO MR. GEORGE DYER.

DEAR SIR,

Northumberland, Oct. 4, 1796.

I AM very thankful for several kind notes that I have received from you, and presents of your very useful publications; and though I have not written to you before, it was not because I was unmindful of you, or for want of respect or gratitude; but because I had nothing to inform you of, but what you would learn from some of my correspondents, with whom you are well acquainted.

I am much pleased with all your publications. Your *Life of Mr. Robinson*,|| which I have just read, must be very useful as you have written it. He was certainly an extraordinary man, though I do not think quite so highly of him as you do; but

* See W. XVI. 287.

† *Ibid.* 220.

‡ A design unaccomplished. See *supra*, p. 281, note †.

§ *Orig.* MS.

|| See *supra*, p. 68.

as you saw much more of him, you must be a better judge than I can pretend to be. I do not see either the *Critical* or the *Monthly Review*, but I am sure that nothing you could say of the controversy between Mr. Evanson and me* could give me any offence.

I am exceedingly shocked at reading this day Mr. Palmer's letter to Dr. Disney, from Botany Bay. From a former letter of his,† I had concluded that his situation was not, on the whole, uncomfortable. But what a picture does he give of despotic and military government! Surely it cannot continue without some redress or mitigation of severity.

Every account I hear from England makes me think myself happy in this peaceful retirement, where I enjoy almost every thing I can wish in this life, and where I hope to close it, though I find it is reported, both here and in England, that I am about to return. The two heavy afflictions I have met with here, in the death of a son and of my wife, rather serve to attach me to the place.‡ Though dead and buried, I would not willingly leave them, and hope to rest with them, when the Sovereign Disposer of all things shall put a period to my present labours and pursuits.

The advantages we enjoy in this country are indeed very great. Here we have no poor; we never see a beggar,§ nor is there any family in want. We have no church establishment, and hardly any taxes. This particular state pays all its officers from a treasure in the public funds. There are very few crimes committed, and we travel without the least apprehension of danger. The press is perfectly free, and I hope we shall always keep out of war. I do not think there ever was any country in the world in a state of such rapid improvement as this at present.

* See *supra*, p. 122.

† To Mr. Lindsey, 1795. *Mem. of Lindsey*, pp. 522—525.

‡ As if "still of each possess," while

"Her charm around, the enchantress Memory threw,
A charm that soothes the mind and sweetens too."

Pleasures of Memory.

§ See *supra*, p. 256.

But we have not the same advantages for literary and philosophical pursuits that you have in England, though even in this respect we are every day getting better. Many new books are printed here. But what scholars chiefly want are old books, and these are not to be had. We hope, however, that the troubles of Europe will be the cause of sending us some libraries. And they say, "it is an ill wind that blows no good." I sincerely wish, however, that your troubles were at an end, and from our last accounts (the French having taken Frankfort*) we think there must be a peace, at least from the impossibility of carrying on the war.†

TO REV. T. BELSHAM.‡

DEAR FRIEND, *Northumberland, Oct. 8, 1796.*

YOU will have heard by Mr. Lindsey, or Mr. Vaughan, of my great loss in the death of my wife, after that of my son. According to the course of nature, she should have outlived me near ten years. A separation like this, after living together very happily more than thirty-four years, cannot but be sensibly felt. These two events, however, make me think more of another world than I do of this, and I look forward to the time which, with respect to me, cannot be very distant, when I hope to meet them and other virtuous friends again, never to part any more. In this respect I feel the unspeakable value of Christianity, and wonder at the readiness of so many, and these not *all*, unworthy characters, to abandon that *blessed hope*.

And yet I wonder almost as much at your doubts concerning the authenticity of the book of *Daniel*,§ the arguments for which appear more satisfactory than those for the Revelation, though I never had any doubts about that. As I am considering the prophecies with a view to some more discourses relating to the evidences of revelation, I propose to give particular attention to this subject, and I think that, besides the

* See *N. A. Reg.* XVII. 212.

† *Orig. MS.*, communicated by my friend Mr. Dyer.

‡ Hackney.

§ See *W. XII.* 309.

common arguments, it will be evident from a comparison of the book of Daniel with the second of Esdras, the Sibylline oracles,* and other books allowed to be forgeries, that Daniel cannot be one. If it had, it would not have been so obscure and difficult to interpret. Besides, it extends to the *last times*, as clearly as the Revelation itself. Also, considering the circumstances of the Jewish nation at the time, I cannot imagine any motive for the forgery. We have no account of any use attempted to be made of it. If you were to give more attention to this book, I think you would give as good an account of it as you have done of the Revelation. Your notes on that I like very much, though I am not quite satisfied with any interpretation I have yet seen of the *woman in the wilderness*, or the *vials*.

I fear we could not invite Mr. Kenrick,† or any other minister from England, to preach in Philadelphia, at present. Having now one tie less to this place, I propose to spend more time there, so long as I shall be capable of public speaking; but the loss of my foreteeth, (having now only two in the upper jaw,) together with my tendency to stammering,‡ which troubles me sometimes, is much against me, though I do better than I expected.

I want some better account than I have, of the *Apocryphal* books. Some copies contain more than others, and I find myself much at a loss to ascertain the date of each. I think that Calmet gives a fuller account of them, and I had his 3 vols. of Dissertations, 4to., but one of them being lost at the riots, I sold the other two among other odd volumes. I wish you would assist Mr. Johnson in repurchasing the whole for me, or send Calmet's Dictionary, if that contains what I want.

I cannot say how much I admire your brother's *History*. After reading the whole by myself, I did read it again to my wife within one-half of the last volume, before she died. We began with the two first, and she liked it as much as I did. I do not think that we have any history better written, besides, that the principles of it are excellent. I prefer his style to

* See *Lardner*, (1788,) II. 242.

† See *supra*, p. 273, note *.

‡ See I. 33, 62, 348.

that of Robertson or Hume. There is more strength, and less appearance of attention to it.

I am in daily expectation of hearing from you and Mr. Lindsey ; but I shall never wholly despair again, and please to observe that my letters are longer than yours. My wife often talked of writing to you, but for the last year she was very feeble, and backward to write to any body. She left an unfinished letter to Mrs. Vaughan, which I have forwarded to her.*

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.†

DEAR FRIEND, *Northumberland, Oct. 29, 1796.*

I HOPE that by this time you are returned from your excursion to the North ; though, from what I hear, this would be rather a melancholy visit. There is nothing, however, to be lamented when our friends die at the usual term of human life, and leave only younger relations behind them, and those in a condition not to stand in need of them. Yet, though this was the case with my father, and I had hardly ever lived with him, and, my aunt taking every expense attending me upon herself,‡ I had never received any thing from him, I felt a great deal when I heard of his death, though little in comparison with what I now feel for the loss of a son, and especially a wife, with whom I have lived, and lived happily, more than thirty years. But I feel on this occasion, more than ever, the real power of Christian principles, and look forward, with peculiar satisfaction, to the time when all the virtuous and the good will meet again, and in more favourable circumstance than ever. As the picture of Dr. Price, and that of Mr. Lee, always hang in my view, I am continually reminded both of the past and the future. I often wish I had yours too. It would add much to my satisfaction, especially as I now sit more alone than I used to do.

Having now one tie, and that a strong one, to this place less than I have had, I think I told you that I proposed to spend more time than I should otherwise have done at Philadelphia.

* *Orig.* MS.

† Essex Street.

‡ See I. 7.

I expect to be there in December, and shall stay till the rising of Congress. With a view to this, I have prepared and transcribed eleven discourses, and have read with great care the Koran, and various things relating to Mahometanism, out of which I expect to make several more discourses, which I hope will be of use; but as yet I have only made extracts, and have not even digested, much less composed any thing. This I can do at Philadelphia. Besides this, I intend to draw out a new plan of lectures on the evidences of revelation, which I intend to give to young people, and perhaps others, all the time that I shall be there.

I have just heard from Mr. Kenrick, of Exeter, expressing some willingness to come as an Unitarian preacher. I write to him by this opportunity, but I am fearful of giving any person much encouragement, though nothing could give me more satisfaction than the settlement of such a person as he, in this country, in that capacity. Could I see him settled at Philadelphia, and Mr. Belsham at the college here, and could I pay you one visit in England, I should sing my *nunc dimittis*; but I shall not repine if these things should not take place. Indeed, any one of these is more than I can reasonably expect. We are all in the best hands, and so are the affairs of the church and of the world.

I rejoice to hear of the success of Bishop Watson's Answer to Paine. It is reprinted here, and will do much good.

I desired Mrs. Vaughan to shew you an unfinished letter of my wife's to her.*

TO REV. T. BELSHAM.†

DEAR FRIEND, Northumberland, Nov. 4, 1796.

IN little more than the last fortnight I have been happy in receiving four of your valuable letters, two yesterday.

The giving up of the college‡ is certainly very mortifying to the friends of liberty, and I doubt not the occasion of much triumph to its enemies; but we must give way to the times,

* Orig. MS.

† Hackney.

‡ See *supra*, p. 337.

which are unfortunately against the good cause, in England. Here we have nothing of that kind to complain of.

I have prepared another set of Discourses relating to the Evidences of Christianity, against my next visit to our metropolis, and intend to give lectures besides on some new plan, of which I have a general idea. I am much pleased with Mr. Cogan's little pieces,* and shall make use of his ideas. I wish he would write more. *You* also, and every person capable of it, should stand forth on this occasion. Every man has something peculiar to himself, in his manner of conceiving things, or of expressing himself, better adapted to impress a number of other persons than that of any others, besides that every writer will get a different class of readers; and the very idea of a number of writers tends to give an idea of the strength of a cause. This more than counterbalances what is lost by the different and sometimes contradictory arguments of different persons. Unbelievers have also their contradictions, as glaring to the full as those of Christians.

It is mortifying to me, but it is an inconvenience that must be submitted to, that we cannot communicate our thoughts and publications more speedily. I wished much to hear what you and Mr. Lindsey thought of my last Discourses before I set about the composition of others, but I find that you have yet seen only the *single sermon*, which is of little consequence. I am glad, however, that you are pleased with it, and not a little flattered with your reading it to my old congregation, and with Mr. Edwards doing it at Birmingham.

Though you see and say that I am *re-settled* in "the orthodox doctrine of Universal Restitution," I cannot say that I am at all times free from doubts, but they grow less and less, and my earnest wishes may have contributed something to fix my opinion.† I think Hartley did wrong to make so much use of

* See "Reflections on the Evidences of Christianity." *N. A. Reg.* XVII. [179].

† See W. II. 64, *note*, where I have shewn from a letter to Mr. Lindsey, in 1803, that Dr. Priestley's latest judgment was decidedly in favour of universal restoration. As it has been well remarked by his remote successor at Leeds, "Priestley loved mankind, and would have been deeply pained to think of any brother of our race so 'lost in loss itself,' that hope

arguments from the Scriptures.* Other considerations have great force. Many Americans are of this opinion, but all depend on arguments from Scripture. They are violently hated by the Calvinists, though, in general, Calvinists in other respects.

I know nothing of the invitation to Leyden, or of the Duchess of York's Unitarianism. She is no correspondent of mine. I was informed before I left England, on pretty good authority, that she had read my *Appeal*, so that the report you mention is not altogether improbable. They are, I hear, undecided whether to choose me or Mr. Jefferson, President of the Philosophical Society; but I gave my informant good reasons why they should not make choice of *me*. There is a warm contest between the friends of Mr. Jefferson and those of Mr. Adams about the Presidency of the United States. The electors are chosen this day. I am inclined to think that the majority will be in favour of Mr. Jefferson,† but all say the contest will be a hard one.‡

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.§

DEAR FRIEND,

Northumberland, Dec. 3, 1796.

THOUGH I have not heard from yourself, I hear by others that you enjoy good health and good spirits, which gives me very great satisfaction. In the evening of life, this is a great happiness. I informed you of the death of my wife, a stroke I shall long feel, though I have much still left to be thankful for, and truly am so. I live very comfortably with my son. I have full leisure for my pursuits, and this I hope I employ to as much advantage as I can. You have gratified me exceedingly by the books you sent me. I have nearly read them all. Mr. Gibbon's *Life* is very amusing; and from this, and the letters of Voltaire, the King of Prussia, &c., I hope to make out something in favour of Christianity. Dr. Darwin's

could not mingle with his sorrow for him." See "Unitarian Christianity Vindicated. By Joseph Hutton, LL. D.," (1832,) p. 124.

* L'Abbé Jurain declined to translate the second part, because "l'auteur y renouvelle l'ancienne erreur des Origénistes contre l'éternité des peines de l'enfer." See W. XV. 423.

† "Adams, President; Jefferson, Vice-president." *Amer. Ann.* II. 405.

‡ *Orig. MS.*

§ *Essex Street.*

is a very capital work.* It will lead me to study medicine, though so late in life; but nothing you have sent strikes me so much as Count Rumford's publication. We see by that, and the no less wonderful effect of the new regulations of the public prison at Philadelphia, that the world may be in a manner renovated by good government. I shall be impatient to see his other numbers.

A gentleman of fortune in Boston has advanced a large sum, as Mr. Freeman informs me, for printing and dispersing your works and mine. They are about to reprint my "History of the Corruptions."

The French government is much offended at the partiality of the governing powers of this, to England, and I fear the consequence will be the French seizing the vessels that go from hence to England, which will greatly interrupt our intercourse with you. This will be a serious evil; but, amidst so much calamity affecting Europe, it would be extraordinary indeed if we should wholly escape.

Mr. Washington is much blamed by the zealous republicans for his ingratitude to France, and, I think, with some reason; but I steer clear of all politics, and indeed feel very little interest of any thing of that kind here. I feel as an Englishman, and shall sincerely lament any evil that may befall my native country, though I condemn as much as ever the conduct of its rulers. *Dabit Deus his quoque finem.* But I think now more of another world than I do of this, and pity those who have no faith in it.

With my best respects to Mrs. Rayner, Dr. Heberden, for whom I am much concerned, and my friends in general, I am yours and Mrs. Lindsey's most affectionately.

P. S. Tell Mr. Belsham that I have got a copy of Volney's *Ruins*. Volney is here, the most self-consequential of men, but respected by the unbelievers.

I wish much for the publication of Mr. Belsham's lectures. Urge him all you can, and exhort him not to be too nice. If I had been so, I should have done nothing.†

* See *supra*, p. 350.

† *Orig.* MS.

TO MRS. BARBAULD.

DEAR MRS. BARBAULD,

THE pleasure I received from your letter, was the greater from its having been unexpected. It has brought a great number of pleasing scenes to mind, though attended with the melancholy reflection, that one person present to them all, is now absent. Though for many years she wrote but few letters, there were not many persons who were more frequently the subject of our conversation, or whom she spoke of with so much pleasure as yourself. Indeed, pleasing impressions of so early a date,* are not soon effaced, if no pains were taken to revive them. If my diaries had not been destroyed in the riots, I should have been able to retrace some of them better than I can do now.

She often lamented the loss of a folio book, into which she had copied all your unpublished poems, and other small pieces, especially the first poem we ever saw of yours, on taking leave of her, when we left Warrington.† The perusal of it would give me more pleasure now than it did at first. The short and very just character which you draw of her I have, and value much.

But the time is fast approaching with respect to *me*, when our intercourse, from which I have derived so much satisfaction, will be renewed with advantage, and to this future scene late events have drawn my attention in a more particular manner than ever. How much to be pitied are they who are not Christians! What consolation can they have in their sorrows? Mine have sometimes such a mixture of joy, as hardly to deserve the name.

What you wish *almost*, I wish *altogether*, that you, and many others of my friends in England, were here. There cannot be a more delightful spot on the face of the earth, and here I trust we shall have *peace*. In England I fear there will be more troubles. If possible, however, I propose to myself the satisfaction of seeing my native country once more before I die.

* See I. 54.

† See I. 49, note *.

I am glad that what I publish here in defence of Christianity gives you pleasure. By this time you may have seen more pieces of the same tendency. Here, the defection from Christian principles is as great as with you. But I consider it a certain sign of better times.

I hope that, a beginning being now made, our correspondence will be continued, at least occasionally. I shall always be exceedingly happy to hear from you. Yours and Mr. Barbauld's most sincerely.*

Besides the obliging attentions of Mr. C. R. Aikin, which I have had occasion to acknowledge, he has very lately favoured me, from Mrs. Barbauld's papers, with the following letter. Though belonging to an earlier period, I cannot withhold it from the story of Dr. Priestley's life, or deny myself a conclusion, so interesting, to the present chapter.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Aug. 26, 1791.

I RECEIVED your kind letter, a week ago; but have not had power to answer it, or certainly should have thanked you sooner, and informed you that I am very well in health for one like me, and that my spirits are very good; and if it had not been for our fellow-sufferers, I think this would not have affected me much.

I believe there is something inherent in me, which always makes me swim at the top of affliction, so that I am ready to pop out to the first friendly hand that offers assistance; otherwise I am surprised at myself that I have borne it so well, and greatly rejoiced that Dr. P. has kept up under that, and all the malignity that has attended it. Our property may be said to be entirely destroyed; the few remains that have been picked up so demolished as to be of little value; and if all had been destroyed at once, it would not have been half the vexation that attends the recovery of any thing we have got.

It is impossible by letter to give you any idea of the situation of this place; a place, I trust, Dr. Priestley will never be

* *Orig. MS.*, in the possession of Mr. C. R. Aikin.

induced to live in again, if 99 out of 100 requested it. We have been here eleven years, and do not know that man, woman, or child, has had reason to complain of us; and to be thus rewarded once, I think, is enough in one's life.* It is a great comfort to feel conscious we deserved very different treatment. However, as we have been driven off the Birmingham stage by the audience and our fellow-actors, I do not think that God can require it of us, as a duty, after they have smote one cheek, to turn the other. I am for trying a fresh soil, though old to be transplanted, and leave them to settle at their leisure the repentance and sorrow they have brought upon themselves.

My daughter's situation has kept me here; otherwise I should have joined Dr. P. in London. She begs to be affectionately remembered to you and Mr. Barbauld.

I shall have the pleasure, I hope, of seeing you in the winter, as we propose taking lodgings, either in London or near it. However, as we have little to take care of, we need not hurry ourselves about taking a house. It is happy our children are grown up, and that they all bear this so well; but I see no reason to sink where there is a good conscience to keep one up. I have learnt much by this new scene, and shall, I hope, be able to practise in future; and that is, to endeavour to bear other people's misfortunes as well as I have borne our own, and as well as many under the mask of friends have borne ours in this place.

A few days before the riot, I burnt all my letters. I had often taken them out, and burnt part before; but that morning I determined to burn all. I consumed every parcel. The last bag was full of yours. I put a handful into the fire, when

* More appropriate rewards awaited Dr. Priestley's memory. Among various gratifying instances, I have observed the following notice:

"In Birmingham there has existed for some time past an association of young men, under the denomination of the Priestleyan Society, the members of which meet once a month, when one of their body gives a sort of retrospect of the advance, or retrogression of civil and religious liberty since their last meeting. Once every year, (the anniversary of Dr. Priestley's birth-day,) the members and friends of the society dine together. This occurred on Tuesday last," March 13. *Examiner*, p. 203.

casting my eye upon a letter with some verses, I thought I would save them a little longer, and read them over before I burnt them. These went with every thing else; but whether destroyed, or kept for private amusement, I cannot say. However, it is happy, if they are read they can find no sentiment, but such as would make them blush for themselves while they read them. A great quantity of Mrs. Galton's, more from good luck than foresight, I burnt: she living on the spot would have made the letters more attended to.

Dr. P. comes into the country as soon as I can join him, to take a journey. All our fellow-sufferers are as well as can possibly be expected. They will scarcely find so many respectable characters, a second time, to make a bonfire of. So much for King and Church for ever.

I beg my kind respects to Dr. Aikin and family. It was well he did not settle in Birmingham. He would certainly have been one of the party. Tell him, also, that the physicians have had no practice since the riots. All the nervous patients are cured. Dr. ——— has been more frightened than any body. They drank all his wine. He took great pains to tell people he was no Dissenter; but this he need not have done, for their quarrel against him must have been on account of his physic. With kind respects to Mr. Barbauld, I am, my dear friend, yours affectionately,

M. PRIESTLEY.*

Mrs. Barbauld, at Dr. Aikin's, Yarmouth.

* Whose "constancy and perseverance" in "supporting" her husband, "under all his trials and sufferings," have been recorded, by an affectionate son, in the *continuation* of his father's Memoirs. Of Mrs. Priestley's judgment, I was once led to form a high opinion, though at the expense of my own.

At the close of 1792, by the desire of some common friends, as well as from my own inclination, I endeavoured to prevail on Dr. Priestley to take a very public part upon an interesting political occasion on which I had been appointed to preside. I allured him, I remember, among other inducements, by the example of Dr. Price, in 1789. At length, with his usual disregard of personal consequences, he freely assented to my proposal. On a subsequent interview with Mrs. Priestley, I was soon convinced that my desire had outrun discretion. Dr. Priestley absented himself from the meeting, and what soon occurred confirmed Mrs. Priestley's superior judgment. See W. XXII. 522—524.

CHAPTER V.

(1797—1800.)

DR. PRIESTLEY had resigned to the grave, though not without indulging the Christian hope, two endeared companions of his emigration ; a wife, the discreet and affectionate partner of his various fortunes ; and a son, in whom he had, once, fondly expected a successor, who might advance, beyond himself, in theological inquiry and scientific research.* Yet, a merciful providence reserved, even to his life's last moments, in the elder branch of his family, the sweetest solace of declining age, in the willing offices of filial affection. Now, however, he again left his home, for the metropolis of the States, to pursue the purposes of his Christian ministry.†

* “ In the autumn of 1795,” says Mr. Priestley, “ my father had the misfortune to lose his youngest son, of whom, being much younger than any of his other children, and having entertained the hopes of his succeeding him in his theological and philosophical pursuits, he was remarkably fond. He felt this misfortune the more severely as it was the first of the kind he had experienced, and particularly as it had a visible effect upon my mother's health and spirits. He was, however, so constantly in the habit of viewing the hand of God in all things, that his mind soon recovered its accustomed serenity. The same habit enabled him to support himself so well under the loss of his wife, the greatest affliction that could possibly have befallen him.”

Continuation.

† See *supra*, p. 361.

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.*

DEAR FRIEND,

Philadelphia, Jan. 13, 1797.

SINCE I have come hither I have received your letter that came by the way of Liverpool, in which you mention with approbation my single sermon.† I have sent to the press a new and much enlarged edition of the "Observations," in which I animadvert on the correspondence between Voltaire and D'Alembert, and especially on M. Volney's Ruins.‡ He is now in this city, publishing a new edition of his work, and by no means pleased at my *preaching*. He says he wishes he could preach too, that he might propagate his sentiments to more advantage. I hope that my animadversions on his work may excite some attention.

I rejoice to find that, in consequence of my recommendation, a very respectable Unitarian society is formed in this city. While I am here, they omit their morning service, and I attend with them in the afternoon; and I never attended public worship with more satisfaction. The service is read with great propriety and seriousness, by persons appointed by ballot. I have been here only one Sunday, and Dr. Price's Sermon on the Resurrection of Lazarus was read. Each reader selects or composes his prayers as he pleases; and they do not in general prefer a liturgy. They administer the Lord's Supper every two months, as was our custom at Birmingham.

My first discourse was well attended, and, among others, was Mr. Lister, the English ambassador, with whom I dined on Monday. He is a pleasing, liberal man, and I am very happy that there is such a minister from England. I expect to see him frequently. He that was in that capacity before, Mr. Hammond, I could not see. He was a violent man, and patronized the writer of that scurrilous pamphlet relating to my emigration.§

The Sunday after next, I am to preach a charity sermon for the Emigrant Society, and they will endeavour to get me the

* Essex Street.

† "Unitarianism Explained and Defended." See W. XVI. 472

‡ See *supra*, p. 362; W. XVII. 46, 113.§ *Infra*, p. 377.

use of one of the episcopal churches. I do not know whether they will succeed.* There is, however, more liberality among the Episcopalians than the Presbyterians,† and I had much rather be obliged to them.

I have received and read, with much satisfaction, Mr. Towers's two volumes on Prophecy,‡ and I shall soon write to him. I am glad to find that we have a young man among us of such ability, and whose mind is so properly and seriously impressed. I have learned much from this work, though I differ from him with respect to the Millenium. But I am far from having been able fully to satisfy myself with respect to that, or several other subjects of this kind.

I seldom trouble you with the *politics* of this country. Indeed, I think very little about them. But I must inform you, that Mr. Adams is to be our next President, and Mr. Jefferson our Vice-President,§ and that there is no doubt they will act very harmoniously together, which will greatly abate the animosity of both the parties. But such is the temper and habit of this country, that if any thing be once decided, though

* The discourse was "delivered at the University Hall, Feb. 19, 1797." See *supra*, p. 339; W. XVI. 500.

† See *supra*, p. 342, *ad fin.*

‡ The design of which the following ample title will sufficiently explain :
"Illustrations of Prophecy; in the course of which are elucidated many Predictions which occur in Isaiah, or Daniel, in the Writings of the Evangelists, or the Book of Revelation; and which are thought to Foretell, among other Great Events, a Revolution in France, favourable to the Interests of Mankind, the Overthrow of the Papal Power, and of Ecclesiastical Tyranny, the Downfal of Civil Despotism, and the subsequent Melioration of the State of the World; together with a large Collection of Extracts, interspersed through the Work, and taken from numerous Commentators. 2 Vols. 1796."

Joseph Lomas Towers, son of Dr. Joseph Towers, had been educated at the New College, Hackney, for the Christian ministry, and was in early life an occasional preacher. His eccentricities, which I have often observed and regretted, were justly ascribed to increasing mental aberration, which at length forbade the beneficial application of his talents and industry. He died a few months since, aged 64, in a receptacle for the insane. The *Illustrations* attracted the favourable notice of his father's friend, the learned Michael Dodson, in whose will Mr. Towers was liberally remembered. See "Christian Reformer," (1832,) XVIII. 131.

§ See *supra*, p. 362.

by a single fair vote, all contention instantly ceases, and all will join with the majority.

I shall write again, soon.*

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND, *Philadelphia, Feb. 20, 1797.*

YOUR letter was balm to my wound. I could not help being much affected by it; but, notwithstanding this, it gave me a satisfaction that I cannot describe. I would not exchange such sorrow for many persons' joys. Much afflicted as I certainly have been, I have always been very happy on the whole. Such is the real value of Christian principles. I have been much gratified with the accounts that Mrs. Galton† and Mrs. Lindsey have given of my wife. They are, indeed, very just, and it is a source of pleasure to have had such a connexion, especially with the prospect, of which I never lose sight, of a more happy union, though of a different kind hereafter.

Two ministers are become entirely of my sentiments, and correspond with me, being in danger of being brought into difficulty in consequence of it. But what I rejoice in most, is the establishment of the Unitarian congregation, which is every thing that can be desired, greatly exceeding any expectations I had formed of it.

All parties seem well satisfied with the new appointment of governors. But the merchants are much distressed by the capture of their ships by the French, and such a want of money as was never known before.

Always give my best respects to Mrs. Rayner, the Duke of Grafton, and Dr. Heberden. I can never forget their friendship to me.‡

TO REV. S. PALMER.§

DEAR SIR, *Philadelphia, Feb. 22, 1797.*

YOUR son saying that he is sending to you, I take the opportunity of thanking you for your kind letter, and begging your acceptance of two pamphlets I have just published here,

* *Orig. MS.*

† See I. 217.

‡ *Orig. MS.*

§ Hackney.

one, a third edition, with large additions, of my "Observations on the Increase of Infidelity," and the other, "An Outline of the Evidences of Revealed Religion." In the former you will see I have given a challenge to M. Volney, who is in this city, and much looked up to by unbelievers here. What he will do I cannot tell, but every body says he must make some reply, or his cause will suffer. From the nature of the question between us, you will see that I cannot be under any great apprehensions about the issue. But the progress of infidelity here is independent of all reasoning, though I hear of many being reclaimed, especially by Bishop Watson's publications, which are much read here. I am printing another volume of Discourses, which I hope will be at least as useful as those I delivered and published last year.

Considering my situation in this country, I may almost say with the apostle, I am set for the defence of the gospel, for nobody else seems disposed to do it. Indeed, but few, I believe, are at all qualified for it. They can bawl out against me as a heretic* loud enough, but they have nothing to say to the common enemy, so that I have to look two ways at the same time. However, except avowing my sentiments, which I thought it necessary to do, in a single discourse the last year, I pay no attention whatever to the orthodox, and confine myself to the unbelievers, as by much the more formidable enemy of the two.

I thank you for your present of the heads of the Nonconformist ministers. They could not be more acceptable to any body. Your *memorial* is always at my elbow, and I frequently take it up for edification. Such examples are most animating.

I have had a great change in my situation since I wrote last. It has broke another tie to this world, and leads me to think more of another. Indeed, I feel almost perfectly indifferent to all the affairs of this.

I beg my particular respects to Mr. Lister,† and Mrs. Palmer.‡

* See Dr. Rogers, *supra*, p. 263, note §.

† See *supra*, p. 288 *ad fin.*

‡ Copy from *Orig.* MS. in the possession of Mr. Palmer's son.

TO REV. T. BELSHAM.*

DEAR FRIEND,

Philadelphia, March 14, 1797.

WE have now been a long time without any arrivals from England, and therefore I have not heard from any of my correspondents; but we are expecting ships every day. We have just heard indirectly that Lord Malmsbury has left Paris,† and that Mr. Pinkney also, who was sent from this country, has not been able to obtain an audience,‡ both which give us great concern. I was in hopes that there might be a peace of some short continuance at least, and in that case I had resolved to pay a visit to Europe, going to France in the first place in order to settle some affairs there, and then to England to see you all, once more on this side of the grave. It would indeed already appear as life from the dead, after so long a separation. I shall, however, seize on the first interval of peace to carry this purpose into execution.

We have got a new presidency,§ and I hope a more promising one than the last, though it will be difficult, and I fear impossible, to undo the false steps that have been taken. The distress among the merchants, owing to the capture of their vessels by the French, is extreme, and as it is not in our power to resent it, they are in great perplexity what to do. I went to take leave of the late president. He seemed not to be in very good spirits. He invited me to Mount Vernon,|| and said he thought he should hardly go from home twenty miles as long as he lived. The new federal city is within twenty miles of his residence, and that has been a favourite object with him.

Mr. Jefferson has been here, and I have seen a good deal of him. He came to hear me, and I hope is not an unbeliever, as he has been represented. But the progress of infidelity here is very great, though in some instances I have been of some

* Hackney, London, *viâ* Hamburgh.† See *N. A. Reg.* XVIII. 66.‡ Jan. 31. He received "notice in writing to quit the territories of the republic." *Ibid.* p. 319.§ See *supra*, p. 370.

|| Where he died, Dec. 14, 1799.

use in stopping it. I have delivered and have nearly prined another set of *Discourses* similar to the last, more original and, I hope, no less useful. One of them is designed to remove your scruples with respect to the authenticity of Daniel. As the Congress left the city early this year, I had not time to deliver all the discourses, though I came earlier.

The Unitarian congregation having requested that I would print an *address* that I delivered to them, it is in the press. My letters to M. Volney* will probably be printed the next week, and the week following I hope to return into the country. But the death of my wife has made a great change in my feelings, though I never felt so sensibly the happy effects of religion.†

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.‡

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Philadelphia April 3, 1797.

BY the ship which will take this, I send a few copies of six different publications, which I have printed since my arrival in this place: 1. A second volume of *Discourses*. 2. A third and much enlarged edition of the *Observations on the Increase of Infidelity*. 3. An *Outline of the Evidences of Revealed Religion*. 4. An *Address to the Unitarian Society*. 5. *Letters to M. Volney*. 6. A *Sermon for the Benefit of the Emigrant Society*.

You will see by the preface to the *Observations*, that I intended it as a challenge to M. Volney, who is much looked up to by the unbelievers of this country. He replied in an angry pamphlet, by which he did himself and his cause no sort of credit. A copy of this will be inclosed. This, however, gave me an opportunity of addressing some letters to him which have been much read, and have evidently made some impression, especially as his behaviour on the occasion has been that of a pettish child, and not that of a man. He refused to receive the copy that I sent him, declaring he would not read it. Notwithstanding the great prevalence of infidelity, to which nothing, I believe, will oppose an effectual barrier at present, I

* W. XVII. 111—128.

† *Orig.* MS.

‡ Essex Street.

doubt not but my coming hither has done it in a great number of cases, and, in general, it has made the cause of religion more respectable, as not declining, but inviting discussion, from which our enemies evidently shrink.

The cause of Unitarianism, also, evidently gains ground, and holds up its head, against bigotry on the one hand and infidelity on the other.* The Unitarian Society is in a most promising state, and the members of it attend with a kind of enthusiasm, and shew an attachment to each other similar to that of the primitive Christians. They gain ground continually, and many who do not openly join them respect them. It is better, I am satisfied, than any congregation with a regular minister. The last Lord's-day I administered the Lord's Supper, and Mr. Eddowes baptized two children in a manner that affected and edified all who were present; the discourse and prayers all his own. Several of the readers, who are appointed by ballot every six months, use their own compositions as well as those of others; but none of them are inclined to a liturgy. It happens, also, that they have some excellent singers, which is a great advantage to them.

I am about to go to France, as I see that my property in the French funds will never yield me any thing while I remain here, especially as this country is now on bad terms with France. I believe I shall go with the late French ambassador, M. Adet; and Mr. Lister, the English minister, will give me a protection in case of meeting with an English ship of war. He does the same for M. Adet; so that a better opportunity I could not have had. If I succeed, I shall make some purchase of land in France, and then I can spend my time here or there, as it shall suit me; and, perhaps, I sometimes flatter myself, that having been of some use in promoting the cause of the gospel here, a door, unseen at present, may, in the course of Providence, be opened for me in France for the same purpose. I do not think that my continuance here is now of much consequence, and I do not wish to live for any other purpose.

I had a house built and a laboratory furnished in such a

* See *supra*, pp. 339, 342, 369.

manner as I had promised myself the greatest satisfaction from both, and it was ready to receive me. But as you used to say, *l'homme propose, mais Dieu dispose*, and his will is best. I feel myself roused, and not sunk, by the event,* and, I thank God, I never was in better health; though, getting into years, I feel more averse to any changes, and this will be a great one. Yet, since the death of my wife, I feel much unsettled, and, on that account, less averse to the voyage. However, after deliberating with myself and advising with others, I have formed my resolution, and desire that your next letters to me may be directed to M. Perigaux, Banker, in Paris.

I wished to have printed my Church History, but it must be postponed till I have leisure to complete the whole. If I can get no further, I hope Mr. Belsham will complete it. We are in daily expectation of arrivals from London, and I shall write again before my departure.†

TO MR. RUSSELL.‡

DEAR SIR,

Philadelphia, April 19, 1797.

I DID not doubt the kind sympathy of your daughters. It is a great satisfaction to know, that I have such Christian friends as those in your family, though our distance prevents any personal intercourse. I now look forward chiefly to that state in which we shall experience no more painful separations from those we most esteem and love.

I thank you for your good wishes with respect to my Church History; but I must suspend the printing of it. I shall, however, keep writing the Continuation, and hope for a more favourable opportunity. At present, I see that very little attention will be given to any thing of the kind.

I sent you my two pamphlets. You will see what I have said to M. Volney. He makes no reply, and said he would not read the pamphlet. However, others have read it, and I hope it has done some good. Infidelity, however, increases, notwithstanding all our endeavours, and will do so, still more, for some time; till the prophecies, which unbelievers them-

* See P. S. *infra*, p. 382.

† Orig. MS.

‡ Middletown.

selves are now fulfilling, shall have had their complete accomplishments, and that time seems not to be at a great distance.

I often wish to hear your sentiments on the great events of the present times, especially relating to the critical state of England. Its affairs must come to a great crisis soon. The approaching summer must, I think, decide every thing. The temporal power of the Pope is, probably, even now, at an end, and that will be followed by other great changes in the state of Europe and the world at large. All Christians, however, will look forward with joy to the bright close of the calamities that will accompany these events.*

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.†

DEAR FRIEND,

Philadelphia, April 30, 1797.

I CANNOT leave this place without writing to you once more, especially as the last accounts we have had from England are very alarming. I hope and pray that a kind Providence may watch over you and my other friends in the great crisis, and, if prudent measures be taken to prevent tumults, the calamity may not be so very great as we have sometimes apprehended. It is impossible, however, not to be exceedingly anxious about the issue when so much is depending.

The shock given to credit affects this country in a very sensible manner; which, joined with our unpleasant situation with respect to France, fills the country with alarm. The Congress will soon meet; but what they will do is very uncertain. I am sorry to see a dislike to France prevail so generally as it does.‡ This affects me and all who are supposed to wish well to that country. The writer of that scurrilous pamphlet on my emigration§ now publishes a daily paper, in which he frequently introduces my name in the most oppro-

* *Orig. MS.*

† *Essex Street.*

‡ "July 7. An act was passed to declare the treaties heretofore concluded with France, no longer obligatory on the United States." *Amer. Ann.* II. 405.

§ "Observations on the Emigration of Dr. Joseph Priestley, and on the several Addresses delivered to him on his arrival at New York. *Philadelphia*: reprinted, *London*, 1794." (*Brit. Crit.* IV. 498.) By Mr. Cobbett. See *W.* XXV. 139.

brious manner, though I never took the least notice of him; and have had nothing to do with the politics of the country; and he has more encouragement than any other writer in this country. He, every day, advertizes his pamphlet against me, and after my name adds, "commonly known by the name of the fire-brand philosopher." He also publishes a periodical pamphlet called the Political Censor, in which he never fails to mention me in a similar manner.

The aversion to those emigrants from England, who are supposed to have been hostile to the measures of government there, is greater, I think, than it was in England. But, happily, we are better protected by the laws, and the disposition of the lower orders of the people, among whom a respect for the French, for assisting them in gaining their liberty, is not extinguished. The rich not only wish for alliance offensive and defensive with England, but, I am persuaded, would have little objection to the former dependence upon it. But the present aspect of affairs in Europe discourages them greatly.

I feel greatly unsettled since the death of my wife, and much more indifferent as to any thing that respects myself. I hope to employ myself usefully at Northumberland, and I have cut myself out work for a year at least. I shall continue my Church History to the present time, draw out a comparison between the system of the Hindoos and that of Moses, and recompose what was lost at the riots, of my Notes on the New Testament, besides attending to my experiments. I shall also translate and continue the Helvian Letters, mentioned in the preface to the volume of Discourses printed the last winter. I have begun to give particular attention to the history of all the nations bordering on Palestine, as the Moabites, Ammonites, &c., to compare the prophecies concerning them, with the events. This has been overlooked by Bishop Newton; and yet, I think, is of considerable importance. I have already made some progress in writing out the prophecies in general in one column, and the events corresponding to them in another; but whether I shall make any public use of it is uncertain. It is a most pleasing exercise to myself.

It is a long time since I have heard from Mr. Belsham, or have had any parcel from you or Mr. Johnson. I expect every thing from the William Penn; but it is not yet arrived. I wish you would call on Mr. Jones, optician, in Holborn, and tell him, I wonder that I have not received the globes and other articles he was to send me; but, if he has not already sent them, to send only the globes and my planisphere which I lent him.*

TO REV. T. BELSHAM.†

DEAR FRIEND, *Northumberland, May 29, 1797.*

I HAVE just received your No. 2, and lately No. 1, and I hope you will not forget your promise to write at least once a month. Every thing that you can write about is interesting to me; indeed, every thing from England, for which, and especially my friends in it, I cannot help being very anxious. The times are indeed very dark, and the conduct of your rulers is as like a judicial infatuation as any can in human affairs. I cannot help fearing the worst, though I hope that, for the sake of the many righteous among you, the calamity will be lessened, if not averted.

Great as may be the progress of infidelity with you, I cannot think it is equal to what we have here. Of those who attend public worship, there are, I believe, as many Roman Catholics as of any other persuasion in Philadelphia, and they are not more bigoted than the Presbyterians. The most liberal are the Episcopalians. With several of those I was very intimate. Bishop White‡ is the “learned friend” in the second appendix to the new edition of my “Observations on the Increase of Infidelity.”§ He says, if I will translate, as I proposed to do, the *Helvian Letters*,|| he will procure me assistance, with respect to the expense. I wish you or Mr. Lindsey could see that work. If it would be read, it would certainly

* *Orig. MS.*

† Hackney.

‡ See *supra*, p. 342.

§ W. XVII. 522.

|| “*Les Helviennes, ou Lettres Provinciales Philosophiques. 1784.*” In the style of Pascal. See W. XVI. 9.

be useful. But here unbelievers will not read any thing but what makes for them, and I suppose it is the same elsewhere.

Have you seen a work of some Scotchman, in answer to my *History of Early Opinions*? Mr. Palmer speaks of it as deserving of notice. If you have, let me know what you think of it. If it be necessary to resume any of my controversies, every body will look to you for it. Pray when shall we see your *Lectures*? If our college* goes on, I shall want them. But several of our principal subscribers have suffered by the late speculations, so that, for the present, things are at a stand with respect to it.†

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.‡

DEAR FRIEND, *Northumberland May 29, 1797.*

AFTER hearing nothing from you since the 5th of April, I have just now received your Nos. 4 and 5, which makes me very happy. I have written to the Duke by this conveyance.

When I consider how much is done for me, I think I can never do enough in return: but I am sorry that you deprive yourself of valuable books, when, judging of you by myself, nothing is more satisfactory than having it in our power to consult them whenever we want them. This must have been your case with respect to Calmet. His Dissertations, 3 vols. 4to, I had before the riots, and valued them much, as I am sure you also must. I met with his Dictionary, 4 vols. folio, the original edition, in French, when I was last in Philadelphia.

By means of Dr. Ross,§ who has been much in the East, and whom I knew in England, I have now almost every book that I wanted respecting the religion and learning of the Hindoos, and I intend to make use of them, in drawing a comparison between that system, so much boasted of by unbelievers, and that of Moses; both of nearly equal antiquity. And I think it must be so much to the advantage of revelation, as must strike all who will give attention to the subject.

This summer I am in hopes of doing something decisive, with respect to the doctrine of phlogiston, and the composition

* See *supra*, p. 271, *note*.

† *Orig.* MS.

‡ Essex Street.

§ "Of Philadelphia, but (1799) returned to Scotland." W. XVII. 132.

of water, and though all the world is at present against me, I see no reason to despair of the old system; and yet, if I should see reason to change my opinion, I think I should rather feel a pride in making the most public acknowledgment of it. M. Adet has published an answer to my pamphlet; but I shall find no great difficulty in replying to it. I wish to have every thing on the subject, that shall appear in England, sent to me.

The Royal Society of Dublin have made me a present of their five volumes of Transactions. Your picture will make me happy indeed; but it grieves me to deprive you and your other friends of it. I hope Mrs. Lindsey will have a copy of it. I would send you one of me, taken since I have come hither; but I am so different from what I was, chiefly in consequence of wearing my hair, that you would hardly know me. I have hair enough to keep me warm in the coldest weather, and as yet it is very little grey. I never had so good health as I have enjoyed a long time. For this I am very thankful, as for every other advantage by which I can be useful to others.*

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND, *Northumberland, June 18, 1797.*

I AM just made happy by the receipt of your No. 6. I have no reason to think that any letter sent to me has miscarried, except one from my daughter, in answer to that in which I gave her an account of her mother's death. As my chief satisfaction consists in hearing from you, writing to you, and thinking and talking of you, I shall continue to write, though some letters should miscarry.

I am sending to the press another pamphlet on Phlogiston, containing an answer to every thing that I have seen in reply to my former, with additional evidence. I am well aware, that at present my character as a philosopher is under a cloud; but depend upon it, in a reasonable time, every thing will be cleared up, and then I hope my character, as a theologian, will gain in consequence of it; and it is in this light chiefly that I regard it. How insignificant are all subjects, compared to

* *Orig. MS.*

those which relate to religion! And yet I am persuaded I have more pleasure in my philosophical pursuits than any of my unchristian brethren. My views of these subjects give a dignity and importance to them, which, in the eye of an unbeliever, it is impossible they should have.

I feel deeply for you with respect to Mrs. Lindsey. I know her importance to you, by that of my wife to me.

Though here we are happily out of the way of all politics, and only see newspapers once a week, we cannot help being much interested in what is passing, especially as it respects our native country, which will ever be dear to us. We fear your troubles are approaching, and earnestly wish our friends were with us.

I shall be glad to see Blayney's Zechariah.* I have all the other new translations. Nothing interests me more than illustrations of scripture, especially prophecy. Though I may not mention them, I enjoy every thing you send me, much more than I should in England.

P. S. I cannot help being very anxious about my daughter, from whom I have not heard a long time. I imagine she is at Mr. Galton's. Her trials must be great;† but she has a strong sense of piety, and great natural cheerfulness.‡

TO REV. J. P. ESTLIN.§

DEAR SIR,

Northumberland, June 25, 1797.

THOUGH I have been too negligent in acknowledging the receipt of your valuable pamphlet, relating to Mr. Paine and infidelity in general, I was not the less pleased with it. I admired both the sentiment and the language. You express yourself with great propriety and force. If any good is to be done, it will be by such writings as yours. Your piece on Atheism is not yet come to hand;|| but I expect it every day. I wished to have seen it before I wrote to you; but having an opportunity of sending to Philadelphia, I was unwilling to delay writing any longer.

* See *N. A. Reg.* XVIII. [201.] † See *supra*, p. 376. ‡ *Orig.* MS.
§ Bristol. || See *W.* XVII. 133; *N. A. Reg.* XVIII. [217.]

You will find, that almost every thing I have published since I have come hither has had the same object with yours, and I rejoice to find you so able a coadjutor. There is, indeed, a great call upon every man who has talents, and a sufficient knowledge of the subject to stand forth in defence of every principle that is of real value, moral as well as, more properly, religious. We now plainly see that they go together; for nothing can be more licentious than the principles of many of the modern unbelievers. They are finely exposed in a work entitled, *Helvian Letters*; which I have some thought of translating and abridging. But it is hardly possible to draw any degree of attention on such subjects in this country, at least this part of it.

Notwithstanding the many solid advantages possessed by this country, it appears to me that there is less of religion than with you. As to rational religion, which alone can be opposed with effect to the infidelity that prevails so much, it is hardly known here. While I am preaching and writing against the common enemy, they are preaching and writing against me.

I thank you for your kind sympathy in my heavy losses. I feel them deeply, but never before felt so much the real power of religion to enable me to bear them. All evils are only for a time, and a short one, and will all lead to good. How little to be envied are the most prosperous of unbelievers! How gloomy are their prospects! I am glad to find you have noticed Dupuis' work. I have not yet seen it, but I have quoted and animadverted upon a short account of it, sent me by himself, in MS., before I left England, in a new edition of my "*Observations on the Increase of Infidelity*." It must be absurd in the extreme.*

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.†

DEAR FRIEND, *Northumberland, Aug. 27, 1797.*

THE last letter I had from you was received July 17. The news from Europe, and especially from England and Ireland, is now more than ever interesting. By the last accounts we

* *Orig. MS.*, communicated by Mrs. Estlin.

† *Essex Street.*

had, the mutiny in the ships at the Nore was not quieted, but we thought would be soon. Ireland seemed to be on the eve of rebellion. But another messenger was sent to procure peace, which we hope would be successful, as it was so much wanted by both parties.

Never, surely, were our general prospects so dark as they are at present. And yet, as I believe there is more rational Christianity and real piety in England than in any other country, I am not without hopes that, on this account, the calamity there is too much reason to expect, will not be so heavy as it has fallen in France and elsewhere. But, in any situation, what a noble consolation do we derive from the prophecies of scripture, (to which I give more attention every day,) which assure us that the issue of these calamities will be most glorious and happy, and that whatever be our fate in this life, there is another and a happier reserved for the righteous!

Removed, as I now am from you, and almost all that I much value in this world, I please myself more than ever with thinking on that state in which we shall certainly meet again; and I amuse myself with conjecturing what our employment will be; but that we shall have nothing to do, I can never persuade myself. By the Acts of the Apostles we see that our Saviour, after his ascension, was particularly attentive to the state of his churches, and I doubt not he is now as much so as ever, though this does not appear. You will see some hints of this kind at the close of my Discourse on the Resurrection,* printed at Philadelphia.

I greatly admire Mr. Towers on Prophecy; but I cannot help thinking that the coming of Christ will be personal, like his ascension, and previous to the Millenium; though it is very possible we may have no just idea of the nature of that state, or of the agency of Christ, and of those who will be then raised from the dead in it.

The yellow fever has broken out again in Philadelphia,† and many persons we hear are leaving the place. Here we are

* W. XVI. 368—311.

† See its ravages, 1793, 1794. Wansey's *Excursion*, p. 127.

happily at a sufficient distance from it; but we seldom escape agues and fluxes, though they are not dangerous.*

TO MR. RUSSELL.†

DEAR SIR, *Northumberland, Aug. 31, 1797.*

I WAS much affected in reading your very friendly letter, by which I perceive that, notwithstanding the distance at which we are removed from each other, and the little probability of our having much intercourse, your affections are not alienated, and that you have the same zeal for the great objects which we have pursued together, so many years.

I have seldom felt a more sensible disappointment than in finding, that though equally exiles from the same country to the same, and on the same account, and intimately connected as we have been, with equal satisfaction to both, we should settle at so great a distance from each other. Had I found you here before me, I should certainly have thought of no other situation than your neighbourhood, whatever it had been. But I am satisfied, on reflection, that this situation, from which I cannot remove, would not suit you, and much less your daughters, (for whom, next to my own, I feel a peculiar regard,) or your son, and therefore I acquiesce and approve of your choice of another.

I shall greatly rejoice to see you; but, if at all, it must be here, and I hope you will contrive to spend as much time with us as you can. Such opportunities will not occur often.‡

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.§

DEAR FRIEND, *Northumberland, Nov. 4, 1797.*

How little are we able to see before us, especially in these eventful times! The idea with which I flattered myself so much, of visiting my friends in Europe when there should be a peace, begins to vanish, as the last accounts do not promise peace, though the negociations at Lisle had continued two

* *Orig. MS.* † *Middletown.* ‡ *Orig. MS.* § *Essex Street.*

months. I wish much to see Mr. Morgan's pamphlet,* of which we have had an extract in our papers. Other accounts, which my son has from England, represent every thing in a state of perfect security, with every appearance of plenty and prosperity. Surely, having all the power of France to contend with alone, must create some alarm in the most confident.

Here, our prospects seem more favourable than they did some time ago, as I hope we are in a fair way of accommodating matters with France and Spain, though nothing is fully settled as yet. The yellow fever, which is not less infectious or fatal than the plague, has been severe at Philadelphia this autumn, as well as at Baltimore, and some other places; but it has never yet reached the interior part of the country.

Our situation at Northumberland is in the way of being improved by the opening of the Susquehannah, the navigation of which has been much impeded by rocks. This, it is supposed, will be accomplished in two years. We have also a line of stage-coaches from this place to Philadelphia, and several more bridges will be built over creeks that are sometimes impassable.

We have had some very cold weather, and expect a severe winter; but at present we have what is here called the Indian summer, the weather uncommonly hazy, but such as the sun shines through, warm, and very pleasant, but with frosty nights. This sometimes continues several weeks, and then come the winter's snow and frost.

Your last mentioned Mrs. Lindsey's illness, but with hopes of her recovery. I am anxious to know the result. May you be long spared to each other! The loss of near friends, and the society to which we have been long accustomed, weans us from the world. I have hardly a wish to stay behind, already. When a few more of my friends are gone, I shall wish to go too; and I think of our meeting in another state much more than ever. What an unspeakable blessing is the knowledge of Christianity! What a pearl of great price do unbelievers

* "Appeal to the People of Great Britain on the present Alarming State of the Public Finances, and of Public Credit." *N. A. Reg.* XVIII. [226.]

reject! I have now very little real satisfaction in any studies that are foreign to this. I think I should even drop my philosophical pursuits, but that I consider them as that study of the works of the great Creator, which I shall resume with more advantage hereafter.

I wrote to the Duke and Mrs. Rayner, letters which I hope they have received. How great are my obligations, and all through you and Mrs. Lindsey, but ultimately to the Author of all good!*

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND, *Northumberland, Nov. 16, 1797.*

WHEN there is more regularity in the intercourse between the two countries I shall gladly send you my portrait,† if I do not bring it myself, for I will not give up the idea of seeing you once more in this world, though, in this state of separation, I lay less stress on this, than I did, and think more on our meeting in a better state. This is now almost constantly on my mind. Indeed, I have now but little real satisfaction, except in Christian studies, and the society and correspondence of Christian friends; and as to such society, I have here very little, but I am thankful that I am not altogether without it. But even most Christians are but little so, and the difference between their general conversation and that of others is not great. Indeed, except in times of persecution, or when something more particularly directs our views to other objects, those we see every day will chiefly occupy men's thoughts, and of course engross their conversation; and in the present extraordinary situation of things in the political world, the universal topic of all conversation is of course politics, though less in this remote part of the country than in cities.

This state of things makes me look more and more into the Scriptures, in reading which I have more satisfaction than ever, though I am less satisfied with respect to some of the prophecies, especially some in Daniel, notwithstanding I have no doubt at all of its genuineness. I am persuaded, however,

* *Orig. MS.*

† See *supra*, p. 381.

that our principal difficulty arises from the uncertainty of the reading, and the difficulty of translating. If we knew what Daniel really wrote, I am persuaded we should now understand him better than he did himself. You need not fear my publishing any thing upon this subject before I get more light than I yet have. Of late I have read and thought a good deal about the prophecy of the seventy weeks, and do not like any thing that I have found, or that I wrote in the Dissertation prefixed to my Harmony.*

I have completed and transcribed for the press the whole of my Church History, brought down to the present time. I am now collecting materials for my Comparison of the Institutions of Moses with those of Hindostan, and with this view am perusing the Institutes of Hindu Law, by Sir W. Jones. As to the Helvian Letters,† I find, as you do, that the work is too large; and rather than abridge it, I shall endeavour to strike out something of a similar nature, and make use of the materials that it will supply; but whether I shall be able to do this to any purpose, I cannot tell. There will be great difficulty in it, and I fear I have written too much on the subject. I have a pretty large section on the progress of infidelity, in the last period of my Church History. I am very thankful indeed that I have the capacity and the means of doing any thing to promote the greatest and best of causes.

P. S. I rejoice to hear that Mrs. Lindsey is recovered from her illness; I was long anxious about it.‡

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND,

Northumberland, Nov. 30, 1797.

I HAVE just received your No. 12, but not 11, any more than 7, 8, or 9, so that I fear our correspondence, which is one of my greatest consolations, will suffer much interruption. I feel little or no interest in any thing that passes here. Indeed, the great scenes that are open in Europe engross every body's whole attention.

We have just seen the declaration of the French Directory,

* W. XX. 28—36.

† See *supra*, p. 379.

‡ *Orig. MS.*

preparatory to the renewal of hostilities, and have some faint hopes that it may prevent them. I have a new thought with respect to the prophecy of the seventy weeks, as it is commonly called, about which I shall write to you or Mr. Belsham, when my ideas are a little clearer.

I wish much to see Mr. Belsham's answer to Mr. Wilberforce; also Mr. Frend's Algebra. I am sorry that Mr. Ferguson's New *Rotula*, which I refer to, p. 35 of the *Dissertations** prefixed to my *Harmony*, could not be got when I left England. Mr. Jones, of Holborn, had a copy in MS. which he offered me, but I was unwilling to take it, hoping he would get it engraved. Please to apply to him to get a copy taken of it.

I thank you for all the articles of news that you send me. Every thing you write interests me more than you can well imagine. I am particularly pleased with the account of the society† at Paris, and wish to know which of the Directory‡ belongs to it.§

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND,

Northumberland, Jan. 1, 1798.

I have nearly finished the first short-hand copy of a Comparison of the Institutions of the Hindoos and other Ancient Nations with those of Moses. I feel myself much interested in this work, and could I have it read, it must, I think, make some impression on candid unbelievers. I have made many hundreds of extracts from various writings, especially the Institutions of Menu, and the Code of Gentoo Laws, and have introduced them, or the substance of them, into my work.

This peace, so long looked for, must surely come soon. I wish the victory at sea, on the coast of Holland,|| of which we have just heard, may lead to it; but I rather fear it may put it farther off. But, should this desirable event take place, I fear I shall not be able to realize my great wish to see you

* See W. XX. 45, note †.

† *Des Théanthrophiles*. See *infra*, p. 395; W. X. 475, *ad fin.*

‡ *Revellière Lepaux*.

§ *Orig. MS.*

|| Oct. 11, 1797. See *N. A. Reg.* XVIII. (149)–(161).

once more. Such a voyage at my age is a very serious thing, and the expenses attending it would be very great. Else I would bring this work and my Church History and print them both with you ; for, if I was in England, means, I trust, would be found to do it.

Having now much leisure, I am recomposing what was lost of my Exposition of the New Testament at the riots. This is heavy work, but I am determined to do it. In about a year I shall hope to bring it to a conclusion. On reconsidering the work, I have given up all thoughts of the translation or abridgment of the Helvian Letters, though I wish some person would undertake it.

We are entering on another year, which seems to be big with great events. May they be happy ones ! But I cannot help fearing great calamity, as the prophecies announcing such, I think are about to be accomplished, or rather are accomplishing.

Three complete years I have now passed in this country, and each of them has been attended with a great trial to me. I hope, however, I feel solid consolation from my full persuasion that every thing is ordered in the best manner ; and, though not now, I shall, one day, see how it is so. I cannot, however, but, in consequence of these events, sit much looser to this state than I ever did, and think more of another. Without this resource, I do not know what I should do, from despair of any good. With it, I am far from being unhappy.

Since I wrote the above, I have received your No. 8, also Mr. Belsham's. He objects to a note in my Letters to M. Volney*, which I believe had a good effect here. I cannot express what I feel on receiving your letters, and those of Mr. Belsham. They set my thoughts afloat, so that I can do nothing but ruminate a long time ; but it is a most pleasing melancholy. I am interested in every thing you write, whereas I have nothing to write in return, but about myself and my pursuits.†

* Probably note †, W. XVII. 127.

† Orig. MS.

TO REV. T. BELSHAM.*

DEAR FRIEND, *Northumberland, Jan. 11, 1798.*

I AM now made happy by receiving your No. 4. I perceive that you had received most, if not all, my publications of the last winter.

Mr. Adams, about whose conduct you wish to be informed, only attended on me once, the last winter. When my lectures were less popular, and he was near his presidentship, he left me, making a kind of apology, from the members of the principal Presbyterian church having offered him a pew there.† He seemed to interest himself in my favour against M. Volney, but did not even subscribe to my Church History. Had he done that, and recommended the subscription, it would have succeeded, I doubt not; but that any *statesman* should risk his popularity on account of *religion*, is not to be expected. He would have been the first in any similar situation if he had done it. I suppose, too, he was not pleased that I did not adopt his dislike of the French.

The outcry against French principles, &c., is more violent here, probably, than with you. The abuse of the French, and the supposed friends of France, (among whom I have the misfortune to be ranked,) is much more violent and coarse than in any English newspaper whatever; yet, in point of argument, the friends of France are greatly superior to their opponents, and so they are in Congress. I have desired my son to send Mr. Lindsey some of our publications on that subject.

P. S. I am much concerned at the last news from Europe, as I fear there will be no peace for England soon, and the country must be in a state of great alarm and real danger.‡

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.§

DEAR FRIEND, *Northumberland, Jan. 18, 1798.*

SINCE I wrote last, I have received two of your letters. I have also been made very happy by receiving, very safe, the box of books from Mr. Johnson, of which I had despaired.

* Hackney.

† Yet see his Unitarian propensities, W. XXV. 146.

‡ Orig. MS.

§ Essex Street.

He has sent me a treasure in the General Dictionary. It will be very useful in revising my Church History, which I shall wish to make as perfect as I possibly can. Having very little society here, such miscellaneous reading as this work supplies, is a great resource for me. Such, too, is the Universal History, which I owe to Dr. Disney, to whom I beg you to give my best respects. I have lately read with pleasure his Lives.* They are very useful, and written with a liberal spirit.

I receive most satisfaction from works, especially of the last age, which illustrate the Scriptures. Of this kind I miss the first volume of Reland's *Miscellanies*, destroyed at the riots. I want Jablonski's *Pantheon Ægyptiorum*.† I have only the third volume, which escaped the riots. If you would know and feel the value of books of literature, come hither, where they are not to be had. I am very thankful, however, to have a library so well furnished. In this country I have seen three of college libraries, and mine is three times more valuable than all. But, at Philadelphia, there is a very valuable learned library, to which I was much obliged when I was there. By the help of it I detected the false quotations of Freret,‡ as you would see in the third edition of my *Observations*.

I have nearly finished my *Comparison of the Institutions of the Hindoos with those of Moses*. If the subject would but be attended to, it must furnish a most decisive proof of the divinity of the latter. I have some hopes that I can get this work printed here. If I could afford it, I would do it at my own expense. I should not grudge any thing that I could spare for such a purpose.

I rejoice with you that Mrs. Lindsey is so much better. What could you do without her; and what can I do when you are gone? At present, most of my ties to this world are broken. But the Christian hope is every thing. Having this, I shall never be unhappy. This lessens my concern for my daughter. I trust she will be improved by her trial, and shew an example of Christian fortitude, humility, and industry, and she cannot suffer long. I do not, however, wholly give up the

* Of Sykes and Jortin.

† See W. XVII. 194.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 523.

hope of seeing both her and you, before our more happy meeting.*

TO MR. J. H. STONE.†

DEAR SIR,

Northumberland, Jan. 20, 1798.

I WAS very happy to receive your very kind letter, and the very sensible pamphlet which you did me the honour to address to me. I am sorry we are so circumstanced that we can have so little intercourse even by letters, the communication between France and this country is so very uncertain. In this I found myself exceedingly disappointed.

Your account of the state of religion in France gives me great satisfaction. I rejoice that neither you nor Mr. Vaughan are carried away by the present torrent of infidelity. They cannot say that all men of sense leave us. This makes me wish the more to see France, for though I cannot preach in French, I might, in some other way, promote the cause I have so much at heart. I wish I knew how to send you the Discourses I have published here on that subject; but perhaps you may get them from London. I know no method of sending you any thing from hence, or of getting any thing from you.

You congratulate me on my interview with B. V. He is settled so far from me (at Kennebech) that I never expect to see him at all. I once intended to have gone as far as Boston; but travelling in this country is so inconvenient and expensive, that I have given up all thoughts of it. I should almost as readily cross the Atlantic.

There has been a most extraordinary change in the politics of the trading people of this country since I came hither, as to countries in alliance with France, which gives me great concern; and now I am subject to more coarse abuse, as a friend of France, than I was in England. But the bulk of the people are still hostile to England, and rejoice, as I do, in the success of the French, and I am persuaded would never be brought to fight against them. I hope that you have more moderation

* *Orig. MS.*

† *Paris.*

and good sense than to proceed to hostilities against this country, though it has not (I mean the leaders of it) deserved any better. It is the mercantile interest only that has made the change, and the glorious success of the French arms, if nothing else, will open their eyes at length.

M. Adet promised to write to me on his arrival in France, but I have not heard from him since he left us. I have published a reply to his answer, on the subject of Phlogiston. I wrote to M. Perigaux to desire he would make a small purchase for me near Paris, but my money in his hands will not suffice for the purpose.

P. S. Perhaps M. Talleyrand would assist in what I have hinted. The last thing he said to me was, that he expected to see me in France.

FROM MR. J. H. STONE.

Paris, February 12, 1798

DEAR SIR,

(25 Pluviose, 6 Year).

ALTHOUGH it is now a very considerable time that we have not had the pleasure of hearing immediately from you, yourself, yet, either by way of England, or by citizens coming from America, we are seldom, for a long time, without tidings of a more or less particular nature concerning you. The last, we received from a young Frenchman, who tells us, that he has been particularly acquainted with you, and rejoiced us with the agreeable information that, at the peace, you would not fail to revisit Europe, and that he hoped you would fix yourself in this country. Whether you fix yourself here or in England, as England will then be, is probably a matter of little importance, except to your friends, who will naturally be anxious to have you, each where themselves are fixed; but we all think that you are misplaced where you are, though, no doubt, in the way of usefulness, however the sphere may be diminished.

I presume you are not so far removed from the centre of the political world, in your retreat at Northumberland, as not to be duly informed of the principal events that are passing in

Europe, although you may not know much of the detail. You will, of course, have heard that our old country is now the only one left to struggle against the French Republic.

You have heard, no doubt, of the new sect, which now has usurped every church in Paris, under the name of Theophilanthropism. This sect is prohibited by the government; but it is in the hands of ignorant men, who do not know how to use the weapons that are put into their hands. They are, for the most part, well-intentioned; and had they the means of information, would, probably, make good Christians. Nothing is read here, on these subjects, because nothing is wrote. We have seen nothing but Mr. Paine's *Age of Reason*, of which an immense edition, in French, was published, and not twenty copies were sold. I am told, he has also been rejected from the society of the Theophilanthropes, on the charge of intolerance. They have, at least, refused his offers of public instruction. Some atheistical tracts have been published, which have been little attended to, and the mind is floating, at present, not knowing on what ground to repose; unwilling to reject the Christian religion, and yet ignorant how to distinguish the wheat from the chaff.

Our National Institute goes on reading and publishing, and has just an appearance of activity, though nothing of very considerable importance has been done since its formation. I believe I mentioned to you, in my last letter, that Favery is about to publish a history of chemistry, or, at least, is busily employed in writing in the mode, as I understand from himself, of your *History of Optics and Electricity*. I have a packet of books done up for you at a bookseller's, but the hopes of seeing you in France hindered me from sending them at the period I might have sent them, and now it would be extremely hazardous, since all American vessels are made prizes, and there is no security of conveyance. Nevertheless, if I find a fortunate opportunity, I shall send them, for I fear that we shall yet delay to see you here.

Whether we shall continue or increase our hostilities towards the United States, is as yet uncertain. All depends on the great operation directed against England. If that succeeds,

English influence will, probably, not predominate amongst you. In the mean time, it is most likely that the French will go on, as at present, treating with as little ceremony as usual every thing that relates to America. John Adams' speech, on the opening of Congress, caused a few smiles; the more so, as it was understood to be a speech full of thunder and menace against France. Nothing is wanting but the interposition of some upright and patriotic citizen to settle the misunderstanding; but I fear it will not be done in John Adams' time.

Mr. Skipwith has promised that a letter shall be conveyed safely to you. I have, therefore, taken the opportunity of writing you a triple letter; and, but for fear of wearying your patience, so much multiplied are events, I could fill half a dozen more. The history of the events in France of the last year, you will find pretty largely detailed in the *New Annual Register*, to which my present is a kind of supplement; but we hope that you will not long delay to be a fellow-witness of them with ourselves.*

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.†

DEAR FRIEND, *Northumberland, March 8, 1798.*

AFTER many delays, I have, at length, received all the *Morning Chronicles* and *Cambridge Intelligencers* that you have sent me; for I find I have them complete from the time of my arrival in this country, and I value them much, especially the *Cambridge paper*, and as it contains almost every thing that is of much value in the other, I shall be very well content to have that only.

Having had leisure enough this winter, and finding it irksome to make many experiments, which require me to have my hands frequently in water, I have not only brought my *Church History* to the present time, but have recomposed what was destroyed in the riots of my *Exposition of the New Testament*. I have also completed my *Comparison*. To make the evidence in favour of the divine mission of Moses more

* *Porcupine's Works*, IX, 228—240.

† *Essex Street.*

unexceptionable, I have methodized all the laws of Moses, and added a few notes. The whole will make a pretty large 8vo. I should not choose to print the Exposition, for several years, and, in the mean time, I shall be reading with a view to the improvement of it, as well as of the History.

What will you say to my leaving this country and going to France? Having some acquaintance with Talleyrand Perigord, late Bishop of Autun,* who succeeds M. Delacroix, I have written to him, almost promising, that if what his predecessor said would be made good, I should go, but that it would be imprudent, at my age, to go on an uncertainty. I wait his answer; but if it should be favourable, I cannot leave this country till the next summer. The satisfaction I should have in being nearer to you and my friends in England would be greater than I can well express. But I wish not to consult my satisfaction (for I am very well content to be here, and am truly thankful for the asylum I have found here) so much as my power of being useful with respect to Christianity. I shall devote my time to that one object, and consider my philosophical pursuits as only subservient to that. Now I really think that I cannot do much more in this country, though I am happy to think that I have done some, and that a seed is sown which will not require my continuance here to ripen. I even think it will ripen better without my presence.

We are much interested in the news from Europe. Things are coming fast to a great crisis; but the friends of England here are under no apprehensions for it. I wish my friends were elsewhere; but a wise and good Providence overrules all events. Party spirit is more violent here than with you, and such is the increasing hatred against France, that I almost fear an open rupture. As a supposed friend of France, I have more coarse abuse than I had in England, so great is the change that has taken place since my arrival. Our last newspaper gave us part of Mr. Fox's speech on the new finance bill, with Mr. Pitt's reply, and an account of great preparations for the invasion of England.

* Who visited England about 1790. See *supra*, p. 184, note †.

With my earnest prayers for the safety of you all, I am yours and Mrs. Lindsey's most affectionately.*

TO MR. RUSSELL.†

DEAR SIR,

Northumberland, March 22, 1798.

I THANK you for so readily admitting my excuse for not paying you a visit. There is no place to which I should go with so much satisfaction. If I had not children of my own, I should petition to live with you, or near you; and it is not impossible but we may yet spend a good part of the remainder of life together.

I have already not only recomposed, but transcribed all that was destroyed at the riots, of my Exposition of the New Testament. But though it is ready for the press, I had rather keep it a year or two longer to make improvements in it, and especially to add what I had not before attempted, an Exposition of the Revelation. I am now at work upon it. To this work, whenever it is printed, I propose, as from the first, to prefix a dedication to you, as the person who made every thing so easy to me at Birmingham, where I first began the custom of expounding from the pulpit, and who contributed so much to the satisfaction I enjoyed in that favourite situation.

There is, certainly, no such thing as an Unitarian Exposition of the New Testament, and therefore Mr. Thatcher is particularly desirous to have mine printed. But neither is there any Unitarian Church History, and, I think, this is even more wanted than the other. The times, however, more immediately call for works that may throw light on the evidences of revelation, and, in this view, I think my *Comparison* most wanted at present. We must, however, submit to the times, as the voice of Providence. I shall employ the happy leisure I enjoy here in improving all these works, as well as in my philosophical pursuits, and one entire year, without in-

* *Orig. MS.*

† Middletown.

terruption, will, I hope, enable me to do a good deal. I am very thankful for such an opportunity.

We cannot now see a day before us, and the greatest events are depending; but if there be a peace within the year, I think it not improbable but I may go to France the next summer, and then I may print these works there; and I shall hope to be able to do it even without the assistance you kindly promise me, which, however, I shall not refuse, if it be necessary.

I see in Swift's "Collection of the Laws of Connecticut," that Unitarianism is a crime punishable, in the first instance, with incapacity for office, and, in the next, with exclusion from the courts of law; so that a Unitarian cannot recover a debt or have redress for any injury. The book was printed, I think, in 1796, or very lately. Now this one circumstance, though the law should not be put in execution, would prevent my settling in that state, whatever else it might have to recommend it. I was absolutely astonished to find this, but there cannot be a doubt of the fact, though you may not have heard of it. There is no such law in this state, or in France. If ever we live together, it must be in a country of religious liberty at least.*

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.†

DEAR FRIEND, *Northumberland, May 17, 1798.*

IT is now a long time, indeed, since I have had the satisfaction of hearing either from you or Mr. Belsham, and the times are such, that I fear our communication will grow more uncertain and difficult. Your last was received the 17th of January.

I have sometimes regretted that we were not nearer the sea-coast; but, in the present state of things, it is better for us to be farther from it. We are much more quiet; though a violent party spirit rages, in a great measure, through all the

* *Orig. MS.*, endorsed by Mr. Russell: "I never heard of the law he mentions before the receipt of this letter. It was, however, very true, respecting the New-England States of America." See I. 17, *note* †.

† Essex Street, forwarded to the Rev. Mr. Cappe's, Monkgate, York.

country. Our governors, in my opinion, have acted as absurdly as yours, and have brought the country into great difficulties, which might easily have been avoided, and the measures they are now taking have no tendency to make things better. The state of religion and morals is not better here than in England, and public calamities, generally brought on by the violence and folly of the governing powers, seem to be the usual means in the hand of Providence of correcting moral evil, and disciplining nations into virtue.

The present state of things is wonderfully interesting, and, to a Christian, full of consolation, though calamitous. Our young men will see great things, and even we, who are old, may at least sing the song of Simeon. The papal power, for the destruction of which we have so long prayed, is now fallen, and this will be a great blow to her spiritual power which preceded it, and will, no doubt, continue some time longer.

To my *Comparison* I think to add some strictures on the strange work of M. Dupuis, which I have now before me. It is, I think, the *ne plus ultra* of infidelity, and hardly admits of a serious answer. M. Volney, I hear, triumphs greatly on its appearance, and the prevalence of infidelity is astonishing. And yet, notwithstanding all I have done to oppose its progress, in which I am single, I was, last Sunday, (and, I believe, frequently am,) preached against in this very place, as a deist; and lie under much greater odium than any professed unbeliever.

There are, however, both here and in various parts of the country, some rational Christians, and their number increases, though slowly. The extreme bigotry of some, affords a better prospect than the total indifference of others. Those whose sentiments are more liberal, do not care to shew it. It is only now and then that any besides our own family attend on Sunday's service, though the place contains many persons of good sense, and the preachers are nothing better than the common run of Methodists in England.

Having abundant leisure, I think now to go on writing notes on all the books of Scripture in the same manner as I have done for the New Testament. I have no greater satisfaction

in any thing, and I am pretty well furnished with books for the purpose. They will remain with my executor, if I cannot print them myself.*

TO REV. T. BELSHAM.†

DEAR FRIEND, *Northumberland, June 5, 1798.*

WHAT would I not give to lay before you my Notes on Daniel and the Revelation, as well as my *Comparison*, to which I have now added, Remarks on M. Dupuis's Origin of all Religions. It is impossible to be perfectly grave in answering it. Accordingly, I have occasionally indulged in irony, as in my answer to Volney; who, it seems, had all his wild notions from him, and, I hear, triumphs greatly in the publication. Mr. Estlin has some good observations on the subject of this work;‡ but weak as it is, it deserves, on account of the great labour, ingenuity, learning, and originality, a fuller answer.

There are no studies that give me so much satisfaction as those relating to the Scriptures and revelation in general, and at present the prophecies are certainly the most interesting, as the fulfilment of the most important of them is, no doubt, at hand; and yet a good many years may intervene before the scene of calamity be passed. I fully expect the personal appearance of Jesus, and have given my reasons for it at large in my Notes on the Revelation;§ but this will hardly be before the restoration of the Jews, of which there are no symptoms at present. The Turkish empire must fall, before that event, and the neighbouring powers do not seem disposed to meddle with it. But, great changes in the dispositions of men may take place in a short time, and things least expected come to pass. Of this we have lately seen many instances. Little did I expect hostility between this country and France, when I came hither. It was rather thought there would have been a war with England.

You will, probably, think me a visionary and an enthusiast, but I have pleased myself much of late in thinking that Jesus

* *Orig. MS.*

† Hackney.

‡ See *supra*, p. 383; W. XVII. 133.

§ xx. 7, W. XIV. 502—505.

has a proper sphere of action relating to his church at present. Consider what he says to the seven churches in the Revelation, which implies both his attention to them and his direction of their affairs, especially *ch.* ii. 5, 22, and iii. 10,* and his saying to Peter, concerning John, “If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?” Angels may be men in the same state with him, and occasionally visible.† We do not see them, but they may see us, and have more to do than we are aware of. Jesus is no doubt living and on the earth, and he cannot be unemployed. No intelligent being, who is awake, is or ought to be so.

My letters, I fear, do not reach you, any more than yours reach me. I shall, however, continue to write.

P. S. I have just received and read, with the greatest satisfaction, your answer to Mr. Wilberforce.‡ I admire it throughout, and cannot help thinking that, if he would read it at all, it must satisfy even himself, had we not so many instances of the invincible power of prejudice, especially when reason is avowedly distrusted.

I wish I could see your Exposition of Isaiah. I am more than ever at a loss to understand many parts of his book, especially those that have been thought to relate to Christ. Jarchi gives very good reasons for applying most of them to the Hebrew nation. I wish you would tell me which you think are really prophecies concerning Christ in the Old Testament. It is a subject that wants light very much. I shall not fail of giving the closest attention to it; but I despair of getting complete satisfaction.§

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.||

DEAR FRIEND, *Northumberland, June 16, 1798.*

AFTER an interval, which I thought very long, I have just received three of your letters. I rejoice that, in such times as these, we can have any communication. I fear this great source of satisfaction to me will grow less and less.

* See W. XIV. 451.

† Thus Coward and Bekker. See W. II. 373, *note* *.

‡ In “Letters to a Lady.”

§ *Orig.* MS.

|| Essex Street.

We are now, in fact, at war with France, and you are threatened, probably by this time more than threatened, with an invasion from the same great power. It is, no doubt, the instrument in the hands of Providence of effecting the greatest purposes, and such as they least of all intend. The issue will no doubt be happy, but the immediate effect will be calamitous. The fall of the Papal power must be followed by that of those which have supported it; but in what manner, or at what distance of time, we cannot tell. A few years, we see, produce the most unexpected events. I am glad to see the French looking towards the East, though with what view does not appear.

As to my speculations about the Millenium, and the present condition of Christ, &c., surely they are innocent. To myself they are something more than amusing; and that they should *offend* any body, really surprises me. I cannot help thinking that some of my observations on that subject are calculated to remove considerable difficulties in the scheme of revelation. I should not have thought that, to any Christian, they would have appeared very extravagant, much less that they would have given offence, except to the very captious; and if what is both useful and original must be wholly overlooked, and nothing but blemishes dwelt upon, it will be time to give over writing. But I hope that some readers will have more candour. I shall, however, hardly undertake more than completing, in the best manner that I can, what I have begun. The Notes on the Old Testament will employ me several years; and if they never be published, I shall not repent my labour, as I cannot do any thing else that will give me so much satisfaction. I have nearly finished the short-hand copy of my Notes on the Minor Prophets. I find Zechariah the most difficult, though Blayney has thrown much light on that book.

You need not be concerned about my not finding prophecies concerning the Messiah. There are enow, and I only expressed some *doubts* about the Christian interpretation of the 53d of Isaiah, thinking that of the Jews, which I have been considering, more plausible than I was used to think it, and wishing to have Mr. Belsham's assistance, as he has lately

been expounding that book. I have not formed any decided opinion on the subject.

I find a great disadvantage in being *alone*, having no person whatever to confer with on any subject of this kind; and as we used to observe with respect to Mr. Cappe,* my solitary speculations may lead me astray, farther than I can be aware of myself; and for this there is not perhaps any remedy, and therefore my friends must bear with me. They should, however, consider that they are not infallible, any more than myself; and to many of us the time is not far distant when we shall see more clearly than we do at present.

I am truly thankful for the benefactions of my friends, and desire you would make my acknowledgments to Mr. Heberden, and my particular respects to his venerable father, of whose bounty I have largely partaken, whether the present came from him or not. I have written to the Duke, and shall inclose a letter to Mrs. Rayner. I hope I truly feel the obligations which such benefactions lay me under, to do all that I can to promote the great cause they have at heart, and I hope that we shall one day rejoice together.†

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND, *Northumberland, Aug. 2, 1798.*

I AM just made very happy by the receipt of two letters from you. I hear also that the books you have been so good as to send me are safely arrived at Philadelphia, and will soon be here, together with the newspapers, by Mr. Brookes,‡ whom I have not yet seen.

I only learned that Mr. Salte was dead, by the Monthly Magazine, which I received very lately. I have had no letter from Mr. Sharpe. The legacy will be acceptable, though I have no wish for any thing, but to enable me to print what I have composed; and this, I doubt not, will be in my power

* See *supra*, p. 315.

† *Orig. MS.*

‡ A much-esteemed friend of mine, now residing at New York. See *supra*, p. 313.

ere long, and in the mean time I shall endeavour to make what I have written, more perfect.

I am much concerned at your account of the very bad state of Dr. Aikin's health.* I always thought him very healthy, and likely, being temperate and active, to live long. He was always usefully employed, and his manners peculiarly pleasing. Dr. Enfield's death was mentioned by Mrs. Barbauld and Mr. Johnson as an event with which I must be acquainted, whereas I had not had any account of it at all, and was much concerned at it. He was much younger than me, and always actively and usefully employed. I am particularly thankful that you and Mrs. Lindsey are preserved. Could I but see you once more, (and I do not despair of it,) it would, I think, make me live something longer, it would give me so much satisfaction. But we are all in the hands of One who best knows how to dispose of us; and the thing we should, and I hope do, chiefly attend to, is to secure a happy meeting in a state of greater permanency than this.

I had some hopes that ———'s scepticism had left him, but you intimate the contrary. However, even Christianity itself is only a means to a certain end; and, if that be attained, though I think it next to impossible, all will be well. That any unbeliever can be pious, and habitually devout, (without which every character must be very imperfect,) is what I have not yet seen any appearance of.

Your account of Mrs. Rayner and Dr. Heberden is very pleasing. I have not yet had the letter of the former, but now I shall not despair of any thing. It will give me great pleasure to receive it, come when it will. Time will carry off one friend after another; and this makes our own removal less painful, nay, rather desirable. I do not wish to live a day longer than I can live to do some good; and I am thankful that my health is on the whole better now than it has ever been yet, though I am far from being strong. I wish Mrs. Lindsey could say the same.

* Dr. Aikin recovered, (see *infra*, p. 415,) and survived till "Dec. 7, 1822, having nearly completed his 75th year." See M. R. XVII. 771; XVIII. 52, 717. To Dr. Aikin's Life of Dr. Priestley, in the Universal Biography, I annexed some notes, in 1815. See *ibid.* X. 1—13.

I have been very busy, and I think very successful, in my experiments, and send the results in letters to Dr. Mitchell, Professor of Chemistry at New York, to be inserted in the Medical Repository. I inclose one of the articles.

P. S. I desired a friend at Philadelphia* to send you and Mr. Belsham some copies of my Additional Observations on the Authenticity of the Book of Daniel.†

TO MR. COBBETT.‡

SIR,

Northumberland, Sept. 4, 1798.

I BEG leave, through the channel of your paper, to give what satisfaction I can to many persons in this country, who seem to be alarmed at the publication of an intercepted letter addressed to me by Mr. J. Stone at Paris,§ and inclosing another which I was to transmit to M. B. P. (which means a Member of the British Parliament) at Kennebeck. They were first printed in England, with a view to render me obnoxious here. Whether they ought to have this effect, let any impartial person judge from the following circumstances :

Mr. John Stone was a member of my congregation at Hackney, and a zealous friend of the American and French Revolutions, which sufficiently accounts for his corresponding with me.|| But I am not answerable for what he or any other person may think proper to write to me.

The letter inclosed to me is for Mr. Benjamin Vaughan, formerly a pupil of mine,¶ and son to Mr. Samuel Vaughan,** who some time ago resided in Philadelphia. He is a man that any country may be proud to possess; having for ability, knowledge of almost every kind, and the most approved integrity, very few equals. He is well known to, and probably corresponds with, the President, who will smile at the surmises that have been thrown out on the subject. He has fixed his residence at Kennebeck, because his family has large

* Mr. Thatcher.

† *Orig.* MS.

‡ Philadelphia. "Dr. Priestley hopes Mr. Cobbett will do him the justice to insert the inclosed in his newspaper."

§ See *supra*, p. 394.

|| See *supra*, p. 393; W. XXV. 131, 183.

¶ To whom Dr. Priestley dedicated his Lectures on History. W. XXIV. 3.

** See I. 59.

property there. If he or I had been a spy in the interest of France, we have made a very strange choice of situations in which to do mischief. But,

Trifles light as air,
Are to the jealous confirmations strong,
As proofs of holy writ.*

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.†

DEAR FRIEND, *Northumberland, Sept. 6, 1798.*

SINCE your last, the intercepted letters have been published here, with the preface and notes from the English edition, and others much more virulent. Though I have no more to do with the politics of this country than you have, so violent is party spirit, that if there be not a change soon, I cannot expect to live in peace here. It looks like a call of Providence for another remove, after having, at a great expense, provided to spend the remainder of life where I now am. Living alone, as I do, this is almost all that I have to write to you about.

Your kindness to my daughter affects me much. I never can requite the friendship you shew me in every way. I have had an affecting letter from her.

I have many difficulties here that I little expected; but my time cannot be long, and I hope my faith in a good Providence is such as that I shall never be unhappy long. No cloud has hitherto been so thick but I thought I could see through it; and the same Being who has conducted me hitherto will be my guide still. But when the times are so dark and serious with respect to nations, how can individuals expect to escape troubles?‡

TO REV. T. BELSHAM.§

DEAR FRIEND, *Northumberland, Oct. 25, 1798.*

I AM just made very happy by receiving your No. 3, and to

* Porcupine's *Works*, IX. 224—245. See W. XXV. 130, 138, *note* †.

† Essex Street.

‡ *Orig.* MS.

§ Hackney.

find that mine to you have been conveyed with some regularity.

Though I am regarded with suspicion, and disliked by all the friends of the ruling powers in this country, and labour under much disadvantage in several respects, as want of philosophical intelligence, and books, &c., from Europe, yet, as I am under no apprehension of actual molestation, I certainly shall not remove till there be a peace, and a good prospect of doing better, elsewhere.

The change that has taken place is indeed hardly credible, as I have done nothing to provoke resentment; but being a citizen of France, and a friend to that revolution, is sufficient. I asked one of the more moderate of that party whether he thought if Dr. Price, the great friend of their own revolution, was alive, he would now be allowed to come into this country. He said, he believed he would not. The persons most in favour are the old Tories, who opposed the revolution. Notwithstanding this, the great body of the farmers, and others in these back parts, are opposed to the government, as has appeared in the late election for members of Congress. In our neighbourhood they are only the more wealthy people, and those connected with the merchants, that are the violent enemies of France, and they now find they have not the influence they imagined they had, over the lower orders of people.

We expect a hard struggle the next meeting of Congress, especially as it now appears that the French do not intend to go to war with this country, and shew a disposition to conciliate matters. The heavy taxes, too, laid by the last session of Congress, and which will soon become due, it is thought cannot be raised, so great is the want of money in the country. Almost all business is done by the exchange of commodities. This, however, makes many articles very cheap, especially at this time of the year, when many of the farmers are obliged to sell their cattle as well as they can. We have just bought the best mutton for three half-pence sterling per pound, and all butchers' meat is nearly as low. What they cannot sell, they kill and salt.

George Humphrys, the youngest of the three brothers, is lately dead, near Philadelphia, cut off by the yellow fever, which prevails so much there, and in other parts of the country.* It is as destructive as the plague. *Pestilences* and *earthquakes*, as well as war, are to precede the second coming of Christ. I consider the *Millenium* as the day or season of judgment, and the coming of Christ is to be visible, and to precede this. But the Jews must first be restored to their own country, and there is some appearance of this great work being in agitation.

No period since that of our Saviour has been of so much importance as the present; and it is evident that the state of things is in a rapid motion. What is now done is only the commencement of something greater. I long to be nearer the centre of motion, and to be doing something in my way, more than I can here. Whatever danger there might have been formerly from the idea of Christ being on the earth, and having some unknown sphere of action, there is none now; and therefore we may freely indulge any speculations on the subject.†

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.‡

DEAR FRIEND,

Northumberland Nov. 1, 1798.

I AM willing to flatter myself that I may be able to pay you a visit the next year, whether my stay be longer or shorter. This, however, will depend on several circumstances, which we cannot command, particularly on the event of a peace, or truce, which I once hoped might have been made before the next spring; but that prospect is, at present, much obscured.

I have been very busy in my laboratory, and have made as many original experiments this summer as I almost ever did in the same time. The account of them would make a pretty large volume. But my favourite occupation is theology; and on this subject I can employ myself as long as I live, be that

* "In Philadelphia, 3645 died (1798); in New York, 1810." *Amer. Ann.* II. 406. See *supra*, pp. 384, 386.

† *Orig. MS.*

‡ Essex Street.

ever so long. Whether what I write be ever published or not, I cannot spend my time better, or more to my own satisfaction. The books with which you have kindly supplied me, have been, and are, of singular use. With respect to the Scriptures, I am pretty well furnished. Mr. Scott, my neighbour at Ipswich, when I was at Needham, in Suffolk, published a poetical version of the book of Job, with large critical notes.* I lost it at the riots, and forgot to replace it. It would now be useful to me, and I wish you would desire Mr. Johnson to send it, and any new publications that may come out, of the kind.

Though we are always apt to magnify present appearances, I have little doubt but that the great prophecies relating to the permanent and happy state of the world, are in the way of fulfilment; but the preceding season of calamity may be of long continuance. The termination of the temporal power of the Pope,† and the destruction of the monarchy that made him a temporal power, shews us pretty clearly *where we are*, and what we have next to look for. I rejoice to hear of something respecting the Jews. Whatever it be, it must prepare the way for their restoration. The French, it is said, have it in view, in consequence of some proposals they have made to them; and that they have no view to the fulfilment of prophecy, is a favourable circumstance. We have just heard of Buonaparte's safe arrival at Alexandria,‡ and part of his force at Scanderoon. Whatever be the object of that expedition, it seems to be hazardous. However, great things may come of it, and those not intended by the French.

From our last accounts, a new war seems ready to break out; but there seems no appearance of it reaching *us*, so that the rash measures of this government may, perhaps, have done no harm on the whole. As the French have surrendered in

* See I. 40, *ad fin.*

† "Feb. 15, 1798," when "the Roman republic" was "proclaimed" to the people assembled "in the Campo Vaccino." *N. A. Reg.* XIX. 289.

‡ "Taken by assault, July 5, 1798." *Ibid.* p. 314.

Ireland, I suppose you will have no invasion this year. The French do not seem to have seriously intended it.

I hope this will find you returned, in health, from the north, and that Mrs. Lindsey will have a prospect of being something better. We have had an uncommonly dry summer, but now snow falls, and I dread the winter.*

TO MRS. BARBAULD.

DEAR MADAM,

Northumberland, Dec. 23, 1798.

THIS will, I hope, be delivered, as it will be conveyed, by my son. How happy should I think myself to wait on you and Mr. Barbauld in person! Should there be a peace, I do promise myself that pleasure; but at present this great blessing seems to be at a great distance.

When I compare the perturbed state of Europe with the quiet of this place, I wish all my friends were here, provided they could find sufficient employment to be happy; but, if they be like myself, they must be content to be idle, except so far as they can make themselves employment in their closets. My library and laboratory sufficiently occupy me, and of common society I have as much as I want. A few more rational Christians, to form a society, would make this place a paradise to me, and this would be wanting in many parts of England.

You have obliged me very much by the exquisite little poem you sent me. I hope you will add to the obligation by the communication of the fragment on the game of Chess, or any other little pieces you may think proper to send me. You had no copy of your first poem to my wife,† or I should value *that* above any other; and also the little poem you wrote on the birth of Joseph.

I shall always be very happy to hear from you and Mr. Barbauld.‡

* *Orig.* MS.

† See *supra*, p. 364.

‡ *Orig.* MS. in the possession of Mr. C. R. Aikin.

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.*

DEAR FRIEND, *Northumberland, Dec. 23, 1798.*

I SEND you, by my son, a picture of myself, in return for yours, which always hangs directly opposite to me as I sit, and which I frequently look at with peculiar satisfaction, and, I may say, improvement. The picture of Dr. Price is also in view, and that of our old friend Mr. Lee,† and the fine countenance of Professor Hutchinson, from Hollis's Memoirs. Though dead, they seem to speak, and tend to inspire good sentiments.

We expect a warm session of Congress. The State of Kentucky has rejected the late acts of Congress respecting sedition and aliens, and sent to all the other state-legislatures for their concurrence. Their declaration on the subject is, for forcible composition, equal to any thing I have ever read. We suppose it to be drawn up by our friend Mr. Toulmin, the secretary of state. A great majority of the people in these parts, and, I believe, through this state, disapprove of the late measures; but this will only appear in new elections for members of Congress, &c., though party-spirit runs very high, and individuals are much exasperated against each other. On this account, as well as others, I do not go to Philadelphia this winter.

I am anxious about Mrs. Lindsey's health: but as she is younger than you, I hope you will hold out together, and have some years of comfort yet.‡

TO REV. DR. TOULMIN.§

DEAR SIR, *Northumberland, Jan. 9, 1799.*

IF I have not written to you so often as you wished, it has not been owing to any want of respect, but because I had nothing to inform you of that you would not, of course, hear from Mr. Lindsey or Mr. Belsham, with whom I correspond;

* Essex Street.

† See *supra*, pp. 359, (*ad fin.*,) 381.

‡ Orig. MS.

§ Taunton.

and really I live here so retired, and pass my time in so uniform a manner, that I have nothing worth writing to you about. I have here abundant leisure, but no object beyond my library or laboratory; and though desirous of exertion other ways, I have no field for it.

Two winters I went to Philadelphia, and delivered two sets of discourses on the Evidences of Revelation, which were well attended to, at first, but, when the novelty went off, my audience was so inconsiderable, that I thought it would answer no good end to do any thing more in that way, and I have no encouragement to go, any more. The state of politics has, I believe, contributed something to this. I am considered as a citizen of France, and the rage against every thing relating to France and French principles, as they say, is not to be described. It is even more violent than with you. This is a change that I was far from expecting when I came hither. I have nothing to do with their politics, and have taken no part whatever; but this does not exempt me from the most rancorous abuse.

There is, however, another party in the country, and I believe the great majority of the farmers in this part of the country are of it. In Kentucky, where your son is Secretary of State, they are almost universally of it. They are so much opposed to the measures of the general government, that I begin to fear a division of the country, and perhaps a civil war will be the consequence. In my opinion, an amicable separation will be desirable, as the southern states in general are disaffected. In this state of Pennsylvania, the majority, I believe, are so too, though those who are so say little. The true state of the case will appear at the next election of a Governor, which will be the next autumn.

This circumstance, and it is the only topic of general conversation, makes the country unpleasant to me; but I am so fixed that I cannot well leave it, though I had some time ago thoughts of going to France. Should there be a peace, I still promise myself the pleasure of seeing my friends in Europe once more; but according to our latest accounts, that desirable event is yet at a great distance.

I very much like your edition of Neale, as indeed all your publications, but I have only the first three volumes. I hope you are far advanced in what you have promised.*

TO MR. RUSSELL.†

DEAR SIR,

Northumberland, Feb. 8, 1799.

THERE being no appearance of peace, I cannot go either to France or England, and I am very thankful for the asylum I find here. I have no concern but about my daughter, and her conduct is such as really makes me proud of her. She will, I doubt not, get through her difficulties in time, and be better in every respect for them; and if I never see her in this world, which I have almost ceased to expect, I shall hope to meet her in a better.

A visit from you and Mr. Skey, and any other of your family, would make me very happy; but I do not now expect it.‡

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.§

DEAR FRIEND,

Northumberland, Feb. 14, 1799.

THE books you have sent me lately are singularly useful, especially Jablonski's *Pantheon*. I have read it with particular satisfaction, and shall give a short analysis of it in my Comparison. I have also read that strange but curious book, Apuleius's *Metamorphoses*. Vandale's works and H. Reland's are excellent; and with Commentators on the Scriptures I am well supplied. And yet, if I could see any of your sale-catalogues, I dare say I should long to purchase many articles. As every thing of this kind must come from England, I cannot give more than a faint idea of my feelings when I open a fresh package of books or instruments, or hear that they are safely arrived at Philadelphia.

I am much concerned for the fate of Mr. Johnson. He certainly did not deserve this harsh treatment; but we are following you here in the same steps as fast as we can. I shall

* *Orig.* MS.

† *Orig.* MS.

‡ Middletown.

§ Essex Street.

be anxious to know the whole of his destiny, and also that of Mr. Wakefield, whose honest boldness* is worthy of better times; but he could not expect to escape in these.

Though I am much affected at this part of your letter, I rejoice at the recovery of Dr. Aikin,† and especially that of Mrs. Lindsey. I have thought of her and of you much upon that account. I hope we shall all meet in a better state than this, though we have much to be thankful for here, and I am very thankful, when I feel the most. When I consider how the patience of the excellent characters in the Old Testament (to which I now give particular attention) was tried, I think my trials nothing at all. Still more do they vanish when I consider the fate of M. Marolles,‡ and thousands of the martyrs, especially those who were long imprisoned in loathsome dungeons. As to a public violent death, the idea of that does not affect me near so much. But God is the best judge of our lot, and, no doubt, orders every thing for the best, for us all.§

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND, *Northumberland, March 21, 1799.*

I CANNOT express what I feel when I receive and read your letters. I generally shed many tears over them, but by no means from sorrow or any unpleasant feeling. I am truly thankful for such a friend, and shall endeavour to deserve it.

Having sold a small house which I purchased for my residence till this was built, I am able to put to the press my *Comparison*, &c. I shall prefix an Address to the Jews respecting the present state of things, and in a separate section, an account of their devotions and customs, at present. With all their superstitions, they are infinitely superior to the Hindoos or any heathen nations. I have made great use of Jablonski. It is an excellent work, and is written in so good and easy Latin, that it reads like a book in English or French,

* In his reply to Bishop Watson.

† See *supra*, p. 346, *ad fin.*

‡ See *supra*, p. 405.

§ *Orig. MS.*

which is seldom the case with German Latin. Sleidan is another example of elegant, easy Latin.

The work to which I propose to devote what remains of life and faculties is my Notes on all the Books of Scripture, and a corrected version of them. In this I should be glad to have some assistance, as I have mentioned to Mr. Belsham. I wish that, for this purpose, our old plan could be resumed.* For this work my library (with respect to which I am much indebted to you) is sufficiently ample. When I consider where I am, I view my library and apparatus with astonishment; and yet I want many things that would cost little or nothing in London. I wish you would call on Mr. Parker in Fleet Street, and thank him for his late present of glass. It was very acceptable.

I have nearly printed my Notes on the Pentateuch; and I never had so much satisfaction in any thing as in these studies. The only thing that is irksome to me is transcribing what I compose, in long hand. But, for this, I task myself so many pages a day, and I do not want patience. I have finished my Notes on the Prophets.

I rejoice with you again and again on the restoration of Mrs. Lindsey's health. May you be long preserved to each other, and to the world, to the happiness of which you in so many ways contribute!†

TO REV. T. BELSHAM. ‡

DEAR FRIEND, *Northumberland, April 16, 1799.*

I AM favoured with your No. 5, and all the preceding. I should write oftener, if I had any thing to write about, but myself and my pursuits, which continue the same. With you, there are a thousand things in which I feel myself much more interested than in any thing passing here. I dislike the public measures of this country as much as I did those of England; but here the excellence of the constitution provides a remedy,

* See *supra*, pp. 76, 81.

† *Orig.* MS.

‡ Hackney.

if the people will make use of it, and if not, they deserve what they suffer.

You rejoice in the victory of Nelson; so do I, now, though I did not at the time. It evidently encouraged the Turks, the Neapolitans, and Sardinians, to declare against the French, and has hastened their downfall, for I hope that of the Turks is not far off; and this will be a glorious event indeed. Read the 19th chapter of *Isaiah*. Something favourable is promised to Egypt in the latter days,* which I think are at hand, but I do not presume to say that Buonaparte is the *deliverer* there promised them.† He may be cut off; but what is promised will no doubt be fulfilled.

In my last I expressed a wish that you would join me in revising the English version. When I have finished my notes, I shall make it a principal object; but it will not be so well received from one hand, though, if nothing were done besides making the best use of the late new versions, it would be very useful. This I could do myself, and I should not like to print any notes without a corrected text.

I wonder as much at your objections to the authenticity of the Book of Daniel,‡ as you do at Mr. Evanson's objections to those of the New Testament, but I have nothing more to advance on the subject. I can only say that you do not seem to give sufficient attention to some of my arguments; but we cannot all see things in the same light, even if we do attend to them.

You seem to have departed from my idea of the lectures in the vestry, which was, instruction in the fundamental principles only of religion, and were therefore confined to the young; but a change of situation requires a change of conduct, and I cannot judge for you. Your Lectures, I doubt not, will be very useful. There is nothing in which I had so much satisfaction.

My longing to see Mr. Lindsey, yourself, and some other friends in England, is sometimes excessive; I cannot describe it. I wish you were all here, if I could find any thing for you to do. I rejoice to hear that Dr. Aikin is so much better. I

* See, on *ver.* 23, 24, W. XII. 175. † *Ver.* 20. ‡ See *supra*, p. 357.

am indeed much concerned to hear of the death of Mr. Morgan.* I have known few persons seem more perfectly healthy and stout. It makes me wonder that I should hold out so well. I never had better health, and I was sixty-six, the last month.

Give my respects to your brother and sister, and Mr. Kentish, and also to Mr. Palmer and Mr. Lister. I do not forget the agreeable meetings we have had at his house.†

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.‡

DEAR FRIEND,

Northumberland, May 3, 1799.

WITH your No. 8, I have just received Mr. Browne on Universal Restoration, with which I am exceedingly pleased indeed. I feel the deepest interest in this subject, and the greatest consolation from such views of futurity as are exhibited in this pamphlet. Indeed, owing, perhaps, to my drawing nearer to the close of life, I am more interested than I ever was before in every thing relating to Christianity, and am more sensible of the value of it; and though philosophical pursuits are much less interesting to me, I have a higher relish for them, as an investigation of the works of the Great Author of all things, which I hope to pursue to more advantage hereafter.

You ask, why Mr. Adams§ does not silence the person who abuses me so much.|| He once said to me, "I wonder why the man abuses you," when a hint from him would have prevented it all. But he is too useful to the party, on the whole, and it answers their purpose to cry down all who are supposed to favour French principles. If the French succeed in the war, their principles will become more popular here.

We have begun to print my Comparison;¶ but it will take us all the summer to finish it. As to the execution of this work, I can only say, that I have used my best judgment; but I will not answer for its giving satisfaction. I think it, however, rather extraordinary, that I cannot quote what has been printed, again and again, by writers universally respected, and

* Rev. George Morgan. See W. XX. 308, *note*.

† *Orig. MS.*

‡ Essex Street.

§ See *supra*, p. 391.

|| See *supra*, p. 377, *ad fin.*

¶ See *supra*, p. 389.

whose works I never heard complained of, as indecent or improper, when the facts I adduce are necessary to my argument,* and would make no impression at all, if they were mentioned in such a manner as a man might read aloud in the presence of women. By this rule you must put many valuable works into an *Index Expurgatorius*. Many passages in the Scriptures must be put in the same Index. We do not read them aloud, but surely they ought to be there.

I rejoice to hear of the Academy in Exeter. Here the States have refused to grant any thing to our college in this town. The walls are raised, and so, I believe, it will remain.† I suspect politics have influence here. I think to resign my presidentship of it. The two houses are strongly on the side of government. At the last session the House of Assembly voted us 3000 dollars; but the Upper House put their negative. I proposed to do the duty without any salary. I am afraid, however, that the objection is not to me, but to the encouragement of seminaries of literature in general.‡

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND,

Northumberland, June 6, 1799.

LONG before this, I hope you have seen my son. We have heard of his safe arrival at Liverpool. I am, every day, in expectation of seeing Mr. Russell. I imagine he will not continue in this country much longer; but where he will finally settle I cannot tell. He expresses a very earnest desire of our spending the remainder of life together, and has some proposal to make to me for the purpose. I certainly shall not leave this place for any thing in this country, or hardly in any other. Another removal would be the termination of all my labours and pursuits in this world; and these I will not give up, while I am capable of doing any thing. And, I thank God, I never had better health; though I am not strong, or capable of bearing much bodily exercise, and cannot keep to one thing so long as I used to do. By great regularity in the distribution of my time, and having few avocations, I do almost as much

* See W. XVII. iii. iv.

† See *supra*, p. 271, *ad fin.*

‡ Orig. MS.

business, of one kind or another, as I ever did, and I read very little for amusement.

I have received the Dictionary of the New Testament which you were so good as to send me. It seems to be a work perfect in its kind, and of great value indeed. I have, also, the Cambridge Intelligencers, complete for the last year. They interest me much.

P. S. Let me know how Dr. Aikin, Dr. Blackburne, and our friends in general, do.*

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND, *Northumberland, June 25, 1799.*

I MUST write a short letter for the sake of inclosing one to Mrs. Rayner, whose kindness to me has been repeated as formerly. I have also written to the Duke, inclosing a copy of the Dedication of the Comparison to him. We have printed about half of this work, and a Jew of some property will, I hope, assist me in the disposal of some copies; and, if he does this, as he promises, I shall be no great loser.

At present I attend to nothing but my Notes on the Old Testament, which it gives me an opportunity of studying more than I ever did before, and in this I have the greatest satisfaction, far beyond my expectation. I have just finished the two books of Kings. It is a very extraordinary and most instructive history.

It is generally thought now, that France wishes to be on good terms with this country; and the generality of the people wish it. But the leading people prefer a connexion with England, at all hazards. What turn things will take is quite uncertain. I am glad to be so far from the scene of politics, and the yellow fever.

We have, by the last post, had our first letters from Joseph. He had seen you. How it excited my desire to be with you, though but for a day! I ought, however, to be very thankful, and I am so, that I can be quiet here, and that I have the means of some useful employment, though not all that I wish.

But I hope I shall not want any thing necessary for my pursuits, and I have no other wants.

We had a long and severe winter, the thermometer having been more than once 20 below 0, and this summer, we fear, will be as hot as the last; but we have had a very moderate spring, and our crops promise well.*

TO THE SAME.

DEAR SIR,

Northumberland, Sept. 12, 1799.

I HAVE just now received your No. 3, by Mr. Ridout, who sent it by a person coming hither from New York. I have had no newspapers for this year, nor any books from Mr. Johnson, for more than a year. I never was so far behind hand, in philosophical intelligence, which is of much consequence to me. I feel my absence from you and my friends in England more sensibly than ever; but I now fear we shall no more meet on this side the grave. My greatest consolation is in looking beyond it.

I have had a cause of trouble, which I never mentioned to you, and what will be the end of the business, I cannot tell; but as the will of God is in every thing, I hope the best, and refer myself to him. Indeed, I find a resource in this more sensibly than ever; so that, if my trials increase, my consolations increase with them.

Mr. Cobbett, the author of the malignant pamphlet on my emigration, and who has never omitted any opportunity of abusing me, has just published, in his newspaper, the whole of a pamphlet, which he says was published in London, in April last, on the subject of the intercepted letters.† If so, you will have seen it. I have some thoughts of addressing a few familiar letters to the inhabitants of this town and neighbourhood, on the subject.

This country is violently agitated, at present, as much as England ever was; I think, more, as the two parties are more nearly balanced. The next month will be the choice of a

* *Orig. MS.*

† See *supra*, pp. 406, 407.

governor of this state, and the year following, that of a president of all the states. I have little doubt but the democrats will succeed in the former, but I think not in the latter.

I thank you much for Mr. Wyvil's pamphlet. By his account you are in imminent danger; and such is the prospect of things on your continent in general, that one cannot but have the most alarming apprehensions.

I have just read Robison's work, and have noticed what he has said of me, in my preface.* I have just read the Austrian account of the murder of the ambassadors, and am shocked beyond measure at it. I have no consolation but in the general persuasion that God will bring good out of all evil, natural and moral.†

TO REV. T. BELSHAM.‡

DEAR SIR,

Northumberland, Nov. 14, 1799.

I HAVE just received your No. 2, and all the books that were sent by the Active, a treasure and a mine, the riches of which it will take much time to explore. I thank you for what you have contributed to it.

As to the Introductions to Matthew and Luke, there is evidence of some copies wanting them, and more of the contents being disbelieved from the very first.§ This is not the case with respect to any part of Daniel. Besides, we may easily conceive how any thing that tended to make Christ appear to more advantage might be adopted and gain credit. A strong bias to this appeared in very early times. As to the appearance of fable, there is, in my opinion, as much of it in the history of Elijah and Elisha as in that of Daniel.

You surprise me as much in fancying there is Platonism in John. I see nothing like it. There are more discourses of Jesus in John than in the other Evangelists, but what *they* do put into his mouth is sometimes as enigmatical; and the narrative of facts in John has more simplicity than in any other of the Evangelists, more like that of an eye-witness, and a person actually present at the transactions he relates. The principal

* See W. XVII. 135—137; XXV. 132.

† *Orig.* MS.

‡ Hackney.

§ See W. II. 126, VI. 116, VII. 101.

peculiarity in John is his omission of all the parables; but he had seen the other gospels, and might think them unnecessary.

I have now completed my notes on all the books of scripture, without omitting even Solomon's Song, the most obscure, but happily the least important of them all. I have chiefly followed Harmer's Outline of a Commentary on it.* I shall keep reading with a view to the improvement of this work, as well as that of my Church History. We are now to have Mr. Jefferson our next President.†

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.‡

DEAR FRIEND, *Northumberland, Nov. 14, 1799.*

MY Comparison is printed, and 200 copies sent to Mr. Johnson. You will see that I have not spared my labour, and, I assure you, I have done my best. I wrote it twice over in long hand, which I never did with respect to any thing before.

I have found it in a manner necessary to write some Letters to the inhabitants of this place and the neighbourhood on the subject of the abominable calumnies that are incessantly published in the newspapers of this country about me. I have just printed one pamphlet, and shall comprise all that I have to say in another, which is in the press. They are written in the manner of my Familiar Letters at Birmingham. The second part will contain matter of more importance. Indeed, this has given me a good pretence for saying many things that I think may be very useful here, if I can draw any attention to them. If not, I shall be satisfied in having done all that I have had any means or opportunity of doing.

We have had a very great contest in this state about the election of a new governor for the next year, and the republican party have carried it against the friends of administration by a great majority. Had it been otherwise, we should have been exposed to much insult. There is the true spirit of Church and King here, though under other names.§

* See W. XII. 140.

† Essex Street.

‡ *Orig. MS.*

§ *Orig. MS.*

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND,

Northumberland, Jan. 9, 1800.

I HAVE this day received yours of Sept. 30, but not a preceding one, to which you refer. Your kindness to me is indeed excessive, and has always been most seasonable. I cannot be enough thankful to a good Providence for it. Without it, including Mrs. Rayner's, I must have been almost incapacitated for every thing.

Your account of my daughter's illness affects me much. So few recover from consumptions, that I have no expectation of it in her case. She will, however, be freed from much trouble in this life, and be well prepared for another; and such is my situation here, and so near am I to the same catastrophe, that such an event affects me much less than it would otherwise do. The removal of a very few more would make me wish to follow them. I have no desire to live on account of any enjoyment that I can reasonably expect in this life; but while I am capable of doing any good, I wish to have the opportunity.

From how much trouble has my wife been relieved! She had a great mind; but the events that have taken place since her death would have affected her deeply. My trials, now towards the close of life, are as great as I can bear; though I doubt not that a wise and good Providence overrules all events, and I have daily a more habitual respect to it. Nothing else could support me. I have often said, and I see more reason for it continually, and in my own case, that many events are more to be lamented than the death of children and friends. In that case the mind is relieved from farther anxiety; and though we have reason to be satisfied when we have done what we think to be *our* duty, it is not such a satisfaction as leaves the mind fully at ease.

We are frail, imperfect beings, and our faith is at best but weak, and requires to be strengthened by reading and reflection. I never omit reading, and I do it with more satisfaction than ever, a considerable portion of scripture every day, and by this

means my mind is much relieved ; and having good health, my spirits are naturally good. Besides, I often think how small a proportion my afflictions bear to those of many others, and to the great mass of distress that I cannot help thinking is coming on a great part of the world, in which many of the worthiest persons must be involved.

Notwithstanding all my troubles, I have much to be thankful for, especially the means of study, in a valuable library and apparatus, of both which I endeavour to make the best use that I can. I sometimes flatter myself that I could be of some use to the cause of Christianity in France ; and with any reasonable prospect of that, I would cheerfully abandon every thing here, and devote myself wholly to it, whatever I might suffer in consequence of it ; but I must wait the call of God, in the course of his providence. Here I hope I have done some good, and have laid the foundation for more ; but it is not what we expected. We must not, however, despair of the cause. It is advancing, like the planets, when they seem to be stationary, or even retrograde.*

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND, *Northumberland, Jan. 16, 1800.*

I WROTE very lately in answer to a letter of yours. I cannot express the satisfaction I have received from the last package of books from Mr. Johnson, both with respect to philosophy and theology. Mr. Scott's *Job*† is very valuable. I shall take much from it, in addition to my notes on that book. Who is the Layman that answers Mr. Wilberforce?‡ It is an excellent tract.

Before this, you will I hope receive copies of my *Comparison*, and also of my *Letters to the inhabitants of this place*. The latter have completely answered my purpose *here*, though they have exposed me to more abuse at a distance ; but that gives me little concern. The articles in some of the late *Philadelphia papers* are as coarse and low as any thing that I have

* *Orig. MS.*

† *Sec supra*, p. 410.

‡ Dr. Cogan.

quoted in the Letters. Nothing in an English paper was half so malignant.

I have ventured on another publication, of no great bulk, which I shall entitle “ The Doctrine of Phlogiston established, and that of the Composition of Water refuted.” I have well considered all that my opponents have advanced, and feel perfectly confident of the ground I stand upon. In this definitive treatise I insert all that is contained in my former publications on the subject, with many new experiments. Though nearly alone, I am under no apprehension of defeat.

I am not without hopes that the combined powers, having failed in their great attempt to crush the French, may give up the contest, and make a peace in the approaching winter. If so, depend upon seeing me, if I can afford to come.

To my account of the reasons for leaving England I prefixed a motto from Petrarch.* In a note to the present publication I introduce the following from the same :

Exul ab Italia, furiis civilibus actus,
Huc subii, partimque volens, partimque coactus.
Hic nemos, hic amnes, hic oëia ruris amœni.
Sed fidi comites absunt, vultusque sereni.
Hoc juvat, hoc cruciat. Nihil illis dulce remotis.†

This is exactly my situation. Were it not, however, for a very few names, I should hardly have a wish to see England.

I am much concerned at the situation in which I learn from your last my daughter was at Bristol ; but the excellent treatise on consumption by Dr. Beddoes, under whose care she is, gives me hopes. If she die, she will be removed from much care and sorrow. This consideration, and that of her excellent character, will do much towards reconciling me to the event. There are many things in life more affecting than death. I am

* See W. XV. 519.

† By civil feuds exiled my native home,
Resign'd, though injured, hither I have come.
Here, groves and streams, delights of rural ease ;
Yet, where the associates, wont to serve and please ;
The aspect bland, that bade the heart confide ?
Absent from these, e'en here, no joys abide.

thankful for an excellent state of health, and hope I do not make a bad use of it. May God preserve you and Mrs. Lindsey to me and to the world.*

TO MR. RUSSELL.†

DEAR SIR,

Northumberland, Feb. 7, 1800.

WHEN you see my political pamphlets, you will see my reasons for the publication. What we printed here, Mr. Jefferson informs me, were all sold in a day or two, and Chancellor Livingston, of New York, says, he has printed an edition at Albany. I think it probable that a new edition will be printed at Philadelphia; so that you will easily get them. I hear there is an answer at New York; but I have not yet seen it. I shall hardly be tempted to do any thing more of this kind; but I do not repent of what I have done.

I shall be glad to see you. As to your proposal, it cannot take effect, if it be to remove from this place. If you were here, you would see that, some very extraordinary occurrence excepted, I am fixed for life. Mr. Jefferson writes to consult me about the plan of a new college, which the State of Virginia is going to establish and endow. They design to have professors from Europe. If any thing would draw me from this place, it would be something of that kind; but I am too old, and the expense and loss of time attending it would be too much for me. Removals have always unhinged me for a long time, and now I am better settled than ever, as you will see, whenever you come. I am concerned to find that they are again unsettled in France; but they must be distressed in England, especially by the bad harvest and seed-time.

If our difficulties and troubles in this life promote our preparation for a better, as they tend to do, we must not complain of them.‡

* *Orig.* MS.

† *Middletown.*

‡ *Orig.* MS.

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.*

DEAR FRIEND, *Northumberland, March 6, 1800.*

I HAVE very lately received two letters from you, one dated Oct. 25, and the other Oct. 31, 1797, so irregular is the conveyance of letters to this country; and the inconvenience can hardly be removed till there be a peace in Europe. Of this, however, we are not altogether without hope this winter. All parties must surely be tired of a war, by which nothing can be gained, and the defection of the Russians must dispose the emperor to peace; after this, England will hardly continue the war at such an expense alone.

I have been writing a Dissertation on the Knowledge of a Future State among the Ancient Hebrews; and I think I have shewn that there are unquestionable references to it in many parts of the Old Testament. If your Commentaries and Essays† be open, I should be glad to have it printed there. I shall send it to you the first opportunity, and dispose of it as you please. I did not use to be of the opinion I have now adopted; but I now think it demonstrable, as far as a thing of this kind is capable of it.

The situation of my daughter affects me much; I never before so much wanted, but I can also say, I never before so much felt, the consolations of religion. In this respect, I hope the troubles with which I have been visited have been of use to me. I think less of this world than ever, and more of another.‡

TO REV. T. BELSHAM.§

DEAR SIR, *Northumberland, March 30, 1800.*

I REJOICE to hear that you have thought of publishing your Sermons on the Christian Doctrine of a Future Life. There is no subject so interesting. I have just finished a tract on the Knowledge of a Future State among the Ancient Hebrews.

With a view to improve my Church History, I have read Robinson's "Ecclesiastical Researches," and find more in it

* Essex Street. † See I. 394, *ad fin.* ‡ *Orig. MS.* § Hackney.

than I expected, with many repetitions and superfluities. He must have taken much pains in reading books that come into few hands. He had them from the libraries of the universities. In this respect the clergy have a great advantage over the dissenters.

The last parcel of books contained the *Missionary Voyage to Otaheite*, to which you refer. It is pity that so much zeal should not be accompanied with more knowledge; but some wise end, unseen by us, may be answered by the prevailing bigotry. Here it reigns uncontrolled. I have, however, found some young men of a serious and inquisitive turn, who read my works, and are confirmed Unitarians. By their means light is diffused; and I do not now despair of an Unitarian society being established in this place in a reasonable time.

The society of our Unitarians at Philadelphia, I understand, does not increase, which gives me much concern. They have had some differences among themselves, and they want a sufficient number of good readers, though some of them I thought excellent. They have also lost many valuable men lately by the yellow fever. This fever is a dreadful scourge to this country; but hitherto it has been confined to the sea-ports. It already makes Philadelphia a most undesirable place of residence. Rents of houses are fallen at least one-third. This disorder is nearly as destructive as the plague in the east.

I want you to give me some account of an answer to my *History of Early Opinions* by a Mr. Johnston, in Scotland.* I see it spoken well of in the *Annual Register*. As I am old and out of the way, I must depend upon you for every thing that used to be expected of me.

Your account of *Apeleutherus*† does not much excite my curiosity, let who will be the writer, or writers of it. I beg my respectful compliment to Mr. Livius, and thanks for his intended present, but I have not yet heard of its arrival. I am interested in every thing relating to the propagation of Christianity in any form, and no sect has done so much in this way as the Moravians; I admire their patience and perseverance.

* See *supra*, p. 380.

† See *N. A. Reg.* XXI. 231.

I rejoice in the success of your preaching and lectures, though I sometimes think you would do better to confine the latter to elementary instruction, as you might then have more young people. By admitting the old, I found at every outset in that way, that I excluded the young.

We have just heard of the Revolution in France, in which Buonaparte acts a principal part, and what to think of it we cannot tell. The federal party here, who are the enemies of the French, triumph in it; but I hope, without reason. I cannot believe that any turn of events will restore monarchy in France, or reinstate the popes in their temporalities; and if those two horns of the beast fall, the rest must follow. It is true, as you observe, that we are apt to overrate the importance of the events of our own times; but surely they are of peculiar magnitude compared with any preceding ones since the writing of the Revelation.*

TO MR. RUSSELL.†

DEAR SIR,

Northumberland, April 3, 1800.

THE same post that brought me your letter, brought me one from ———, remonstrating in such a manner against my Letters, as if I had committed the sin against the Holy Ghost. Now I think it is a great reflection on any country, and the government of it, if any man, even without the provocation that I have received, cannot publish his objections to any public measures, when he does it without acrimony or ill humour, which I am sure I neither felt nor expressed. I am glad that you have read them with different eyes. They have been of service to me in this neighbourhood, which was my first object, and I shall hardly trouble the country again in the same way.

As to their publication's preventing the circulation of my theological writings, I do not think it can possibly make any difference. When I published proposals for printing my Church History by subscription three years ago, I got only

* *Orig.* MS.

† Middletown.

seven subscribers, and among them there was not Mr. Adams,* or any member of administration.

I believe the lower class of people with you are more decent in their manners than they are with us, and in that respect they are something better here, than in England; but I think there is not so generally a principle of honour and honesty in any class of men as in England, and their religion is chiefly form and bigotry, which does not soften or improve the heart.

All hope of peace is, I fear, banished, which adds to the probability of this being the time of trouble that is to end in the destruction of all the monarchies of Europe. I do not know what to think of the new constitution of France; and that country seems to be in more danger than ever, chiefly from the great number of royalists, who are supplied with arms from England.†

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.‡

DEAR SIR,

Northumberland, April 10, 1800.

I SEND along with this an account of a course of experiments of as much importance as almost any that I have ever made. Please to shew it to Mr. Kirwan, and give it either to Mr. Nicholson for his journal, or to Mr. Phillips, for his magazine, as you please. I was never more busy or more successful in this way, when I was in England; and I am very thankful to a kind Providence for the means and the leisure for these pursuits, which, next to theological studies, interest me most. Indeed, there is a natural alliance between them, as there must be between the word and the works of God.

A letter from Mr. Russell informs me that Mr. Dodson is dead, and that, among other legacies, he has left you and me five hundred pounds. If this be true, it will be very seasonable to me, and enable me to pursue all my schemes to advantage, though I do not mean to print any thing more on my own account. He was a worthy and valuable man. How many agreeable days have we spent with him! The recollection of

* See *supra*, p. 391.

† *Orig.* MS.

‡ *Essex Street.*

these, and of the dinners at Mrs. Rayner's, affects me in the strongest manner. Those times will never return; but I hope better still will succeed, in due time. To that time I now look continually more than I ever should have done, in more favourable circumstances. I have lately composed a Discourse on the use of the Exercise of Faith and Patience, which I wish I could shew you.*

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND,

Northumberland, May 1, 1800.

I DO not wonder that you are alarmed at my taking a part in the politics of this country; though I hope that when you see what I have written, (for your kind advice came much too late,) you will not blame me so much, as, without knowing the circumstances, you were disposed to do.

My Letters are variously spoken of, as you may suppose, by different persons; but what was of most importance to myself, they have made me thought better of in this neighbourhood by persons who were much prejudiced against me. However, having fully explained my principles in religion and politics, I have no inclination to enter into the latter field any more, though, at a distance, the abuse of me is not diminished, but it is in a lower way than you can well imagine.† Indeed, the style of the publications of this country would not be borne by any party in England.

If you think that the person to whom I principally reply is singular in his style of abuse, you are much mistaken. I could send you paragraphs in many newspapers quite as low as any thing in him. At this time he is by far the most popular writer in this country, and, indeed, one of the best in many respects. He now publishes a paper called the *Rushlight*, which, in sarcastic humour, is equal, if not superior, to any thing that I have ever seen. Till he began to censure the conduct of Mr. Adams, he was cried up by all his friends; though now they pretend to be ashamed of him. All his works are now printing in England.

* *Orig. MS.*

† See Mr. Cobbett in *Peter Porcupine*, W. XXV. 122, 138, *notes*.

The violence of party here is greater than I ever knew it in England, and the governors are disposed to be more severe; but they stand in some awe of the people, with whom their measures are certainly becoming unpopular. The great contest will be that for a President the next November, when both parties will put forth all their strength.

By this time you will have received my Comparison, &c.; but my distance from all those who will take any interest in what I do is a great damper. However, the more I hear of the state of Europe, the more satisfied I am that it is best for me to remain here. I have as much *sunshine* as I want, which was far from being the case in England. But I want my *friends*, and especially yourself and Mr. Belsham.*

TO REV. T. BELSHAM.†

DEAR SIR,

Northumberland, May 15, 1800.

I AM concerned to find Mr. Lindsey much disturbed at my "Letters to the Inhabitants of Northumberland;" but no person in England can be a proper judge of what it was expedient to do in my situation.

Mr. Thatcher,‡ the most strenuous supporter of all the measures of government, but zealously with me in theology and metaphysics, said he was very glad that I had published these Letters, and thought that the letter on the subject of Religion could not fail to do much good. Indeed, I believe it has done more to serve the cause of Unitarianism and Christianity than all that I had written or done in this country, which however was not much. When Mr. Thatcher had seen the second part of my Letter, he wrote to me as follows:—"Your Letters (both parts) I have read with all the pleasure with which I read your other works, excepting that deduction which naturally arises from the difference of opinion we entertain on some of the points therein discussed."

On the whole, though something might have been better omitted, or better expressed, I see no reason to regret what I

* Orig. MS.

† Hackney.

‡ See *supra*, p. 398.

have done. I know that some Federalists have said, that the other party, who wish me well, disapprove of my writing; but others, and some of the first men in this country, say that my Letters have done much good, and have made a great impression on many, and they write to me in the most flattering terms on the subject. However, having done what I thought necessary, I have no intention to do any thing more in this way.

Desire Mr. Johnson to procure for me Gale's Answer to Wall on Infant Baptism, with Wall's Reply, and also Stennet's tract on that subject. I have lately read Wall, and think it impossible to answer it to any purpose. Whatever may be said of the unreasonableness of infant baptism, I think the antiquity of the practice, from the time of the apostles, indisputable. I have had some thoughts of writing a short piece on the subject, in the form of a letter to Dr. Toulmin, or to learned Baptists in general; but I must first see Gale and Stennet.

I am now reading with much satisfaction Bingham's "Ecclesiastical Antiquities." It is a laborious and valuable work. Every thing of this kind interests me much; and though I now and then want books that I cannot get, I have a double enjoyment of those I have, and read many that I should never have read in England, and this has been of considerable advantage to me.*

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.†

DEAR FRIEND, *Northumberland, May 29, 1800.*

I AM prepared to expect a very severe censure of my "Letters to the Inhabitants of Northumberland." I will not say that every thing is just what I now wish it had been; but you cannot judge of my situation at the time of writing those Letters. Some apology I have made in a letter to Belsham, which you will see. To shew you that *all* persons here do not see them in the same light with you, I will transcribe part of a

* *Orig.* MS.

† Essex Street.

letter that Mr. Jefferson, with whom I am in correspondence, wrote to me on the occasion. You will likewise from this form some idea of Mr. Jefferson, and his political principles, which is of some consequence, as he is generally thought to be in many respects the first man in this country, and will probably be our next President.

DEAR SIR,

Philadelphia, Jan. 18, 1800.

“I have to thank you for the pamphlets you were so kind as to send me. You will know what I thought of them by my having before sent a dozen sets to Virginia, to distribute among my friends; yet I thank you not the less for these, which I value the more as they came from yourself.

“The papers of Political Arithmetic, both in yours and Mr. Cooper’s pamphlets,* are the most precious gifts that can be made to us; for we are running navigation-mad, and commerce-mad, and navy-mad, which is worst of all. How desirable is it that you should pursue that subject for us! From the Porcupines of our country you will receive no thanks, but the great mass of our nation will edify, and thank you.

“How deeply have I been chagrined and mortified at the persecutions which fanaticism and monarchy have excited against you, even here! At first, I believed it was merely a continuance of the English persecution; but I observe that, on the demise of Porcupine,† and the division of his inheritance between Fenno and Brown, the latter (though succeeding only to the Federal portion of Porcupinism, not the Anglican, which is Fenno’s part) serves up for the palate of his sect dishes of abuse against you as high-seasoned as Porcupine’s were. You have sinned against Church and King, and therefore can never be forgiven.

“How sincerely have I regretted that your friend, before he fixed a choice of position,‡ did not visit the valleys on each side of the blue range in Virginia, as Mr. Madison and myself so much wished! You would have found there equal soil, the

* See W. XXV. 173, 175—182.

† On Mr. Cobbett’s return to England, to receive his courtly recompence, the patronage of princes, peers, and prelates. See *ibid.* p. 111, *note*.

‡ See *supra*, pp. 208, 238, 239.

finest climate, and most healthy air on the earth, the homage of universal reverence and love, and the power of the country spread over you as a shield; but, since you would not make it your country by adoption, you must now do it by your good offices. I have one to propose to you, which will produce their good, and gratitude to you, for ages, and in the way to which you have devoted a long life, that of spreading light among men."

He then, as at the request of "the ablest and brightest characters of the state," desires I would give them a plan for a college or university, which they wish to establish in the healthiest part of Virginia, and endow in the most ample manner.

Mr. Livingston, the Chancellor of the State of New York, was so much pleased with my Letters, that he got a new edition of them printed at Albany,* and writes to me in a similar manner on the subject. I believe that, on the whole, the Letters have done real good; and, being shut out from every thing in the way of theology, I see no reason why I should not endeavour to be useful in any other. But I believe I have done with the subject; and if I have offended, shall do so no more. As to Mr. ———, you should not pay any attention to what he or that family says. They consort only with Federalists.

Mr. Cooper has been convicted of a libel, on the Sedition Act, and is now in prison;† but he has gained great credit by it, and he will, I doubt not, be a rising man in the country. The trial is published, and I shall send you a copy of it. This has been the last blow to the Federalist party, which is now broke up. Mr. Adams has quarrelled with all the officers of state, and dismissed them, and he courts the Anti-federalists so much, as is not at all to his credit, so that he is now sunk with all parties; and his old friends intend, it is said, to set up Mr. Pinkney as the opponent of Mr. Jefferson. So much for politics.

I have trials here that I cannot explain to you;‡ but I have

* See *supra*, p. 427.

† "For six months," with "a fine of 400 dollars." W. XXV. 151.

‡ See *supra*, pp. 407, 421, 424.

occasion for all my philosophy and religion too. It is nothing but a firm faith in a good Providence that is my support at present; but it is an effectual one. I never felt its power so sensibly before. I read the introduction to the second volume of Hartley, and his conclusion, when I am most pressed. This, and the daily study of the Scriptures, are a never-failing resource. In this state of mind, what would I not give for the society of such a friend as you, to whom I could *say* what I cannot write!

Though I believe my situation here is preferable to any other whatever, I do not wish to live a day longer than I can do some good; but at present my health, and I hope my faculties, are as good as at any former period of my life, and I feel no abatement of activity, but what arises from a want of opportunity of exertion. In writing and experimenting I do almost as much as ever.

There is, in a Philadelphia paper, a strange account of my dining with Mr. Lister, the English ambassador,* on the Queen's birth-day, copied from the Gentleman's Magazine.† Mr. Lister, after inquiring of a common friend whether I would not be offended at the invitation, called on me in the most friendly manner, and nothing was done or said on the occasion that could give offence to any friend of liberty. In the drawing-room Mrs. Lister seated herself by me, and said I must hand her down stairs. I often visited Mr. Lister, and was much pleased with him. You will not suppose that I sang, or was asked to sing.‡

TO REV. T. BELSHAM.§

DEAR SIR,

Northumberland, June 5, 1800.

IF any thing could tempt me to leave this country, and return to England, it would be your kind invitation to live with you. Indeed, I am incapable of managing a house myself, and

* See *supra*, pp. 369, 375.

† LXIX. 841—843; a ridiculous tale, unworthy of any respectable periodical; especially to have admitted such a communication, under the coward's coverture, an anonymous signature.

‡ *Orig.* MS.

§ Hackney.

always was. While my wife was living, I said I was only a lodger in her house, as I now am in my son's. Your account of what I might be, and do, living with you at Hackney, is flattering in the extreme; and if I considered my own satisfaction only, I should fly to it immediately, as the happiest lot I can imagine for what remains to me of life. It appears to me to be all that I could possibly wish for; but there are, for some time at least, insuperable objections to the scheme.

Several years of the best part of my life have been lost by removals, and I could not make another without the loss of all the remains, during which I can be capable of doing any thing. However, after a very few years, it will be a matter of much indifference where I live, or rather where I die; but then my company will not be worth having. I shall only be burdensome. On the whole, I do not think that I can do better than determine to remain where I am for life.*

TO MR. RUSSELL.†

DEAR SIR,

Northumberland, June 5, 1800.

YOUR letter of April 27 alarms me a good deal, as I fear your disorder is of a more dangerous nature than I had imagined; but we are all in the hands of God, who knows better than we can do what is best for us, and the world in general, and also how long it is proper that we continue here. This is my only consolation in the heavy trials with which it has pleased the Sovereign Disposer of all things to exercise me in this country, but it is abundantly sufficient.

I have just received a letter from Mr. Belsham, urging me strongly to return and live with him at Hackney. If any thing could tempt me, that would; but I am so fixed to this place, that a removal is now absolutely impossible, without too great a sacrifice of property, and, what is more, of my time, for any useful purpose.

By my last advices from England, my daughter has had an alarming relapse. I now despair of her recovery, but I do not

lay this much to heart. She is prepared for a better world, and has little prospect of happiness in this.

I have no communication whatever with France, and therefore cannot give you any account of Mr. Walker;* but by one means or other, I do not recollect what, I heard that he had been in prison, but was at liberty again. What he was charged with, I did not hear, but it was said that he made heavy complaints of the country, and the government of it.

I cannot help being very anxious to hear from you. But few of my old friends are now left, and few indeed whom I have more reason to value and esteem than yourself; and the loss of any kind of property endears the remainder to us. But we shall meet in a better state; and to this the disappointments we meet with here naturally direct our attention.†

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.‡

DEAR FRIEND, *Northumberland, June 19, 1800.*

I ONCE thought, as you will have seen by my letters, that I might be of some use to the cause of rational Christianity in France, but I now think I should do no more by my presence than I can by my writings, so that I am well content to continue where I am.

Besides, a field of some usefulness is gradually opening to me here, and by means of my writings in other parts of this country. Bigotry and indifference no doubt prevail; but, with respect to myself, prejudices are much abated; and though my congregation is not large, I am constantly attended by about half a dozen excellent young men. They knew nothing of religion before I came, but are now equally intelligent and zealous. One of them, by means of whom all the rest have been gained, though without any education besides that of reading and writing, has composed several letters, or rather tracts, on the subject of the Divine Unity, that might be printed. With a liberal education, he would certainly appear to great advantage. He has read Locke, and is eager to pro-

* See *supra*, p. 210.

† *Orig.* MS.

‡ Essex Street.

ceed to Hartley. He has long been in the habit of reading books that my son or myself have lent him; but I could not for a long time persuade him to read any thing on theology, and now he has little pleasure in any thing else. Two of these young men are going to work at the federal city, (they are carpenters,) and I shall furnish them with books. Wherever they go they will, I doubt not, make proselytes, and they are strictly virtuous and conscientious.

Mr. Christie* is doing every thing he can in the good cause at Winchester, in Virginia, though hitherto without much success. He has published an excellent tract, and has preached a set of sermons on the Unity. I have just received a small parcel of the tracts directed to you, which I will send to Mr. Vaughan, to be forwarded to you the first opportunity.

I have sometimes lamented that the few Unitarians that have emigrated hither are placed at such a distance from one another; but I believe we are of more use in the situation, though our personal satisfaction would be greater if we were nearer. We are not wanted in England; and though as yet not much progress is made by any of us, it is more than could have been done if we had not come, and a little leaven may in time leaven the whole mass.†

I hope I acknowledge the hand of God in every thing, and doubt not but that hereafter, though not now, we shall see that the most untoward events have their use. At present I am sometimes ready to say with Jacob, that many things are

* See I. 352, *note*.

† See the progress, in Northumberland, W. XXV. 145, *note*. A much valued friend, and able advocate of Unitarianism, contemplating its advances in "the land beyond the western ocean," more than twenty years after Priestley had "finished his course," says,

"Half a century has not elapsed since she could not boast of more than one congregation in that great division of the globe, now she has many; (in Boston alone fourteen;) may it soon be all her own! She is rapidly progressing and scattering wide the good seed of the word, which in due season will shoot above all the noxious tares that would impede its growth."

See "The Doctrine of the Trinity founded neither on Scripture, nor on Reason and Common Sense, but on Tradition and the Infallible Church. By William Hamilton Drummond, D.D." *Ed.* 3, (1831,) pp. 137, 138.

against me; and though they do not *shake* my faith, they *try* it. Your friendship is a balance to almost every thing, the most adverse.*

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND, *Northumberland, Aug. 13, 1800.*

I HAVE the satisfaction to inform you that my son is now safely returned. He brings a very affecting account of the state of the country, such as I should think cannot continue long; but the scarcity will be relieved by importation and the present harvest. With us it had been more abundant than was ever known, both in hay and corn; and so fine is the climate, that there is rarely any difficulty in reaping or getting in. The longer I live in this country, the more I like it. Your spending a year with me in this place, of which you dropped something like a hint in a late letter, would make it a paradise. But that is far above any expectation I have of happiness in this life. The circumstance I am most thankful for is your enjoying so good health, so as to be useful to me and many others, where you are.

It was not a little that you contributed to my *Comparison*, if that work be of any value. From you I had *Jablonski*, *Vandale*, and several other books, which I made use of. I fear you commend it more than it deserves. I can only say it was well intended, and as well executed on the whole as I was able to do it; but I know my defects, and here there is nobody to give me any hint or assistance of any kind, which is a disheartening circumstance. However, I must be doing something, and, like the Archbishop of Granada, the will may continue longer than the power.

I send you with this, an *Attempt to Explain the 19th of Isaiah*, occasioned by the perusal of *Bishop Horsley* on the same subject. I am sorry that the "*Commentaries and Essays*"† are discontinued, as the articles I send you will not bear a separate publication; and the *Monthly Magazine* may be thought unsuitable to them, as not calculated for the generality

* *Orig. MS.*

† See *Mem. of Lindsey*, pp. 176—179.

of its readers. I have two other tracts in contemplation, a new interpretation of the 53d of Isaiah, and some observations on the trite subject of Infant Baptism.*

TO MR. RUSSELL.†

DEAR SIR,

Northumberland, Sept. 25, 1800.

I AM glad to hear from you there is some appearance of the spread of rational sentiments in politics in your part of the country. I have similar accounts from other quarters. When I see you, I shall shew you some pleasing letters from Mr. Jefferson, who was desired by some of the principal persons in Virginia to consult me about a new university they intend to found in that state. I have given them my best advice, and Mr. Jefferson much approves of it.

Here I have at length succeeded in forming a small society for public worship. For this I am, I believe, in a great measure indebted to the letter concerning religion, in my late publication;‡ for the people in this neighbourhood, having read none of my writings, were made to believe that I was an enemy to all religion, and they did not know but that Unitarianism was the same with Deism or Atheism. Now, my small tracts in defence of Unitarianism are read, and with good effect. In this you will justly conclude that I greatly rejoice.

If any thing could draw me from this place, to which what has lately taken place has contributed to attach me more than ever, it would be the prospect of promoting the same cause in a larger field in France; but this appears to me at present altogether chimerical, though I once flattered myself that it might have been otherwise. As I shall never speak the language fluently, my writings will do all that I can do. This, however, I suspect to be your object. To reside in France in your company, and be usefully employed there, you aiding me, as you did at Birmingham, would be the height of all my wishes. But there is a time for all things; and though we doubt not but that every thing that is good will be finally accomplished, we are not the best judges of the proper time, or

* *Orig. MS.*

† Middletown.

‡ See W. XXV. 143.

of the proper instruments, and may fancy ourselves qualified for services we are the least fit for. Here I am doing some good, and have a prospect of doing more ; and with this I ought to be content and thankful, as I hope I am.

P. S. I have not seen Mr. King's Remarks on the Signs of the Times, Owen's Christian Monitor, Bicheno's Glance at the History of Christianity, Kett on the Prophecies, or the Inspector, and shall be glad to see them.*

TO REV. T. LINDSEY,†

DEAR FRIEND, *Northumberland, Oct. 16. 1800.*

A FORTNIGHT ago a letter from Mr. Russell informed me of the death of Mrs. Rayner, and of her having left me 2000*l*. Considering her great age, and knowing her kind intentions, I think it not improbable. A letter from you will, I hope, soon put an end to the uncertainty. What do I not owe to that excellent woman, and to you and Mrs. Lindsey through her, and to the Giver of all good through you all !

This hand I endeavour to respect daily and hourly ; and it is a never-failing consolation under all my troubles, which have been many, since my settlement here. I am thankful they did not come at an earlier period, when I should have been less able to bear them, and when they would have impeded, more than they now do, the course of my studies. I am thankful that in this remote, and in some respects unfavourable situation, I have both the power, the will, and especially the leisure, to do something both in theology and philosophy, on the whole hardly less than I have done at any period of my life.

I mentioned to you a young man of this place who is become a zealous Unitarian. By his means chiefly I have now a class of fourteen very promising young men, to whom I have great satisfaction in giving lectures, as I used to do in England, from my Institutes. I have also been encouraged to open a place of public worship in a school-room near my house, where I have a small congregation. I principally expound the Scriptures. I am now expounding Isaiah, and the history of the gospels, from my memory.‡

* *Orig.* MS.

† *Essex Street.*

‡ *Orig.* MS.

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND,

Northumberland, Oct. 30, 1800.

THE day after I wrote my last, I received yours of July 28th, in which you give an account of the illness and death of that excellent woman and my great benefactress, Mrs. Rayner, and of her dying attention to me. Happy are they who live and die as she did. At our time of life *we* cannot expect to survive her long. We shall all meet again, I doubt not, with the same friendly dispositions that we have exercised here; and this will be one great source of our happiness hereafter.

I am glad to find (by a notice from the Royal Society) that my tract on Phlogiston has reached England;* also the MS. on the Doctrine of a Future State.† I did not expect that all my arguments would, at first especially, strike you as they do me; but, on the calmest reflection, I am quite satisfied with them. In whatever manner you dispose of the piece,‡ it will be equally agreeable to me. I am glad that you think it worth publishing in any way.§

TO REV. T. BELSHAM.||

DEAR SIR,

Northumberland, Nov. 6, 1800.

I HAVE some thoughts of sending you my interpretation of the 53rd of Isaiah, which I am pretty clear relates to the Hebrew nation, and not to Jesus, though there are some expressions in it that are peculiarly difficult on any hypothesis. You have not told me how you or Mr. Lindsey like my interpretation of the beginning of the prophecy of the seventy weeks, as it is commonly rendered, of Daniel, in my Comparison, though I do not recollect whether you consider that chapter as spurious or not. If I could be surprised at any thing of the kind, it would be at your incredulity on this subject, and that reasons which impress me so much, should impress you so little. I

* See *supra*, p. 426.† See *supra*, p. 428.

‡ It was published in 1801. See "An Inquiry into the Knowledge of the Ancient Hebrews concerning a Future State." W. XII. 482.

§ *Orig. MS.*

|| Hackney.

hope to hear Daniel himself giving you a gentle reproof on this head. But considering the great number that are to be raised, I sometimes think that our chance of having any interview with persons who have lived in a period and a country very remote from us, cannot be great, and that we shall have something else to do than converse with one another.

I know you already think me very visionary with respect to a future state; but the subject is so interesting, that it is impossible not to have some ideas about it, be they ever so visionary. And, separated as I now am from most of those whom I value most in this state, I think the more of that in which I hope to meet them again, and in more favourable circumstances than the present, though what those circumstances will be we cannot know. But the less there is of certainty, the more room there is for imagination.

I have lately read, and with much satisfaction, *Spencer de Legibus Hebræorum*.^{*} But I am exceedingly dissatisfied with what I have read of the second part, which is about one half; and he is every where unnecessarily prolix, and too formal in his method.

I have heard of, I think, two attacks on my History of Early Opinions,[†] but they have not been sent to me; so that I do not know what ground they go upon. As my time is over, I look to you for a defence of Unitarianism in all its branches; but do not spare me when you may think I have been (and I am apt to be) too hasty. I am pretty confident, however, that in that work I have gone on sure ground in the main; and, if so, minute criticism does not amount to much.

Mr. Lindsey will tell you that I have now a decent congregation, and a pretty good class of young men to lecture to.[‡]

TO MR. RUSSELL.§

DEAR SIR,

Northumberland, Nov. 13, 1800.

YOUR last gives me no hope of seeing you here before

* “*De Legibus Hebræorum ritualibus, earumque rationibus. Fol. 1732.*”

† See *supra*, p. 380.

‡ *Orig.* MS.

§ Middletown.

winter, and I cannot encourage you to undertake the journey while the snow is on the ground: for here it often fails. The last winter we had three falls of snow, each completely melted before the next came. I once began a journey to Philadelphia on a sleigh, but the snow failed before we had got half way, which put us to great inconvenience.

Though I wish to know what it is that you have to propose, I am confident it is something great and generous, but such as I fear the times will not admit of. I will tell you, however, what I now intend, and I suspect it may bear some relation to your proposal. As soon as there is a free and safe communication with France, I really intend to make the voyage, in part to look after my property there; but, also, to see whether there be a prospect of doing any thing in favour of rational Christianity.

But I am far from being sanguine with respect to it, and imagine that all I can do there (or, indeed, elsewhere) will be by my writings, which are there already, though my being present might serve to excite a little more attention to them. As to preaching, I am nearly too old for it, and my teeth failing me, I could not appear to any advantage in the pulpit, even if my strength did not fail, as I perceive it to do. Besides, being so long out of the habit of public speaking, I should not soon recover the little power that I once had of that kind. I should, no doubt, wish for a larger field than I have here, but, small as it is, I am thankful for it, especially as it respects my class of young men, which, though not consisting of more than a dozen, is very promising. My congregation is sometimes about forty, and is not likely to increase.

I wish I could send you my treatise on Phlogiston;* for though the subject would not interest you, there is something in the preface, that you might like to see. It pleases my theological friends in general. I am also glad to hear, by Mr. Lindsey, that my Comparison, &c., gives them much satisfaction.†

* See *supra*, p. 426.

† *Orig. MS.*

TO REV. T. BELSHAM.*

DEAR SIR,

Northumberland, Nov. 26, 1800.

I HAVE just received two of your very acceptable letters, and am happy to find you had then received three of mine.

I do not know that I could have gone to any place more eligible on the whole. The climate I prefer greatly to that of England, especially for my experiments, many of which require sunshine, of which I have now plenty; whereas I have watched every gleam in England, and often to no purpose, for months together. What is called bad weather, such as rain or snow, seldom lasts more than two or three days. Clouds soon, and almost certainly, bring rain, and then the sky is clear again, both in winter and summer. The only circumstance I complain of is, the sudden changes from heat to cold, and *vice versâ*, in all seasons. This I did not expect, having imagined that the climate in this, as in other respects, bore a nearer resemblance to that of Asia Minor and Palestine. But in return for inconstancy in the weather, we have a constant verdure, which they have not, and but little danger of hay or corn suffering in time of harvest.

In many respects we are far behind you in Europe; but we have the satisfaction of seeing every thing in a state of rapid improvement. Were I to tell you all the improvements that have been made in this remote part of the country since our arrival, I might write a little volume, and the amount would hardly appear credible. This place has many natural advantages, and must, in time, be a very considerable town. I have had some views of it taken, which I will, the first opportunity, send to Mr. Lindsey. Some of them, I believe, will be engraved to accompany an account of this part of the country, and an actual survey of our river as far as it is navigable.

That my Calvinistic friends should expect any change in my sentiments† is a little extraordinary; but it seems to shew that they do not think very ill of me. I do not, however, think it

* Hackney.

† See *supra*, p. 299.

at all necessary to make any such formal declaration as you recommend. My Church History and Notes on the Scriptures,* with the last of my publications, or posthumous ones, will abundantly answer that purpose. Nothing but a great interval between the last of my publications and my death, could give any colour to the surmise. If I publish those works myself, it must be when I can superintend the press; but the delay of a year or two will be no disadvantage to them, though it is not my custom to delay *nine years*, as you have done with respect to your lectures. I rejoice, however, that you have at length resolved to send them to the press. I was afraid I should not have lived to see them.

P. S. How is my treatise on Phlogiston received by my philosophical friends?†

* In a letter, "Dec. 16, 1831," which I shall have another occasion to notice, Mr. Priestley has thus obligingly set me right, as to circumstances respecting both these works, which I appear to have misapprehended:

"I take this opportunity of correcting an error into which you have fallen, in your prefaces to the 10th and 13th volumes, in supposing that the latter volumes of the Church History were published after my father's death, and that the Notes on the Scriptures were not in the state in which they would have been published had he been alive.

"The fact is, that the whole of the Church History was printed by my father in 1803, he superintending the press himself, when he was as capable of doing so as at any period of his life. Of the Notes on the Scriptures, he printed the whole of the first volume, and as far, I think, as to the end of the Prophet Isaiah in the second volume, and two or three sheets in the third. The doctrines of Heathen Philosophy were ready for the press, and were printed by myself after his death.

"But, that he would not have made any alterations in either of the latter works I am satisfied from the circumstance, that he never began to print any work till it was completely ready for the press; never making any material alterations; and I have heard him say, that he never made the printers wait for copy, or for the correction of any mistakes, but their own. My father, expecting that he should not live to print the works, left the whole in such order that there could not well be any mistake; nor is there any material one, that I am aware of, except that there was an omission of the Notes of one whole chapter of the Book of Revelation; but, whether the omission was my father's or the printer's, I cannot tell, as I was absent at the time that part was printed." *Orig. MS.*

I had conjectured, in 1810, that, "on *Ch. vii.*, the author had written no notes, or else they were accidentally omitted in preparing the *Northumberland* edition." See W. XIV. 459, *ad fin.*

† *Orig. MS.*

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.*

DEAR FRIEND,

Northumberland, Dec. 16, 1800.

To my remarks on the history of Goliath, I wish to add an account of the size of one Middleton, commonly called the child of Hale, near Warrington.† He lived in the time of James I., and being sent for to court, his picture was taken as he went through Oxford. I went to see it, at Hale, and there was, in my time, a copy of it at the Red Lion inn, in Warrington. I dare say Dr. Aikin will remember it, and perhaps may, without farther inquiry, give me the information I want. Please to give my respects to him and request this favour of him.

Unitarianism has, I doubt not, taken firm root in this country; but its progress is slow, though, in time, the grain of mustard seed may become a respectable plant.‡ Both my congregation and class of young men are something diminished, and the Unitarian Society at Philadelphia is broken up. Several of the members were carried off by the yellow fever. Others left the place, and few native Americans joined them;

* Essex Street.

† See, on 1 *Sam.* xvii. 4, W. XI. 376.

‡ The following passages of a letter to Mr. Lindsey discover how Dr. Priestley has accelerated this progress, before his emigration; while the subsequent, and especially the recent, prevalence of Unitarianism, throughout the United States, sanctions the anticipations of the learned professor:

"I have the pleasure of inclosing you the thanks of the College for Dr. Priestley's theological works. We are much obliged to you for your kind intention of having sent the philosophical works; but we were before possessed of them; and the opinion they had excited in the minds of the students here, of the Doctor's superiority as a writer, led them to look into the theological works with avidity, the moment they were deposited in the library for their use.

"I am persuaded that, by means of them, and of your own valuable labours in the same cause, the seeds of Unitarianism will be sown in the minds of the youth in this seminary, and yield such fruit as will shew that they were not uselessly bestowed. In other parts of the continent, as well as here, they have excited a spirit of inquiry and attention to the subject, that cannot, I think, be unfavourable to the progress of truth, and must afford you the highest satisfaction. J. SMITH. Cambridge, N. E., July 11, 1789." *Orig. MS.* See *supra*, p. 306, *note*.

the whole congregation, in a manner, being emigrants from England.

I do not hear of any farther progress of infidelity in this country; but there is a great indifference to religion among the most intelligent Christians, and this is little better than infidelity. They neither converse nor read on the subject. Thus losing sight both of the thing itself and the evidence of it, the transition to absolute infidelity is very easy; and when once that step is taken, a dislike of the subject increases continually, so that there is little probability of their being reclaimed. The secret suspicion they may have of their having concluded too hastily, will not lead them to reconsider the arguments.*

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND,

Northumberland, Dec. 25, 1800.

I HAVE just received yours of 29th September, in which you mentioned the receipt of three of mine. I hope that, before this time, you will have received others, one of them containing a copy of another letter from Mr. Jefferson, approving of the plan I sent him of the constitution of their new college.† I have also sent you copies of three articles for Mr. Nicholson's Journal.

I wish you may see the Medical Repository, printed at New York. It contains many curious articles, especially in natural history, that will interest you, and all the admirers of the works of God. See also, if you can, the 4th volume of the Transactions of the Philosophical Society at Philadelphia, for an account, by Mr. Jefferson, of a large animal, of the lion kind, probably now existing on this continent, but about three times the size of the African lion.

The extent of the works of creation are very imperfectly known to us. Much has been discovered on this small globe on which we live; but much more remains to be explored. It is a noble field of speculation, so naturally leading to devotion,

* *Orig. MS.*

† See *supra*, pp. 436, 442.

that I sometimes wonder that all natural philosophers are not pious men; and yet it is notorious, that many of them are the reverse of this, and even speculative atheists. This, however, I am willing to think, cannot be so long, if what is most obviously true and right must prevail at last; and of this we cannot entertain a doubt. My conviction of the infinite wisdom in the structure and government of the world increases continually, and the satisfaction I derive from it is greater than ever; probably in consequence of being shut out from many other sources of enjoyment and pleasing reflection. Without this, I assure you that I should be very melancholy; but with it, I am, in all my trials, cheerful and happy. I can even look beyond any thing that is painful in my reflections on the conduct of ——.* I trust in a good Providence, with respect to the issue both in this world and the next. The discipline we are under, will at length soften the most refractory tempers, and make all of us what we ought to be, and the hand of God is in every thing. The belief that his will is actually done, and must always be so, should make us easy, and it will do so, after the first shock of a new event is a little over. But I ought not to preach to *you*.

The election of Mr. Jefferson for our next President is now secure by a considerable majority, and also that of Mr. Burr, of New York, with whom I am well acquainted, for Vice-president. The measures of the late administration are now almost universally reprobated, and I hope, in due time, some strong censures, such as will prevent their future occurrence, will be passed upon them. But Mr. Jefferson will do nothing rashly. His being President may induce me to visit the federal city, and perhaps his seat in Virginia.

I am happy in being remembered by the excellent family at Morden.† Give my best respects to them all. I shall never forget the many pleasing hours that Cecil spent with us at Birmingham. Remember me also to Dr. Blackburne and other friends.‡

* See *supra*, p. 436 *ad fin.*

† See *Mem. of Lindsey*, pp. 86, *note*, 402.

‡ *Orig. MS.*

CHAPTER VI.

(1801—1804.)

DR. PRIESTLEY was now visiting Philadelphia, for the third time, since his first arrival, in 1794, on the way from England. Though, during the last year, the seat of the general Government had been transferred to Washington,* yet the metropolis of Pennsylvania would still offer many attractions.

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.†

DEAR FRIEND,

Philadelphia.‡

HERE I am, unexpectedly, not having intended to visit this place any more; but my son having business here, and my daughter accompanying him, I was persuaded to come too; and though the journey was a tedious one of five days,§ I do not, on the whole, repent of it. It makes a little variety in the course of my life, which was rather too uniform, and I see here many persons from whose society I derive pleasure and advantage, though, the Congress not being here, there are not so many such as there would otherwise be.

My greatest mortification is, that the Unitarian society|| is wholly dispersed, and the few that remain, so dispirited, that I cannot bring them together, I fear, even to hear a few dis-

* "1800. The seat of Government removed to Washington;" which, in "1802, contained 4350 inhabitants." *Amer. Ann.* II. 409.

† Essex Street.

‡ No Date. Received "March 16, 1801."

§ 130 miles. See *supra*, p. 268, note †.

|| See *supra*, p. 369.

courses that I had prepared, principally for them. I shall, however, see what farther can be done. Several of the most zealous died of the yellow fever, and most of the rest have left the place. There were not half a dozen at their last meeting. They were all English families. Not a single native American joined them. The more opulent of their society, as Mr. — left them, evidently because they made no figure, and it was disreputable to belong to it.

Indifference to religion is greater here than, I hope, it is with you; and those with whom it is any object, are mere enthusiasts, without any knowledge. I have attended some of their places of worship; but I have not found one that a man of sense can hear with any satisfaction; except Bishop White, who is, indeed, an excellent man, and in whose society I am very happy. I see him often, and our conversation is truly Christian and edifying. Such too is that of Dr. Rush; but though a zealous Christian, and an Unitarian, at least an Arian, he never attended the Unitarian society. One of the clergy, Dr. Andrews, is an Unitarian, and generally came to hear me. He is no preacher himself, having a professorship in the university. With him and the bishop* I have much intimacy, and this is the more extraordinary as the bishop is orthodox, and they are both Federalists, and Dr. Andrews, they say, very violent. That party, however, is now broken, and Dr. Andrews said I had done them more mischief than any other man.

As far as I can see, the people of this country, in general, and even the Federalists, will acquiesce in the presidentship of Mr. Jefferson, in which I rejoice very much. He is a man of great prudence and moderation, and, if it be possible, will heal their differences, and keep the country in peace. I hope, too, that he is a Christian, and, if so, an Unitarian, and of this I have been assured by some who know him pretty well.

There is nowhere a more zealous Unitarian than Mr.

* See *supra*, p. 342. Dr. White had been "consecrated at Lambeth Palace, in England, bishop of the episcopal churches in Pennsylvania;" and, at the same time, Dr. Prevost (see *supra*, p. 237, *ad fin.*) "bishop of the episcopal churches in New York." *Amer. Ann.* II. 405, *note*.

Christie,* at Winchester. Indeed, I fear he has injured himself materially by his zeal in the cause, without gaining, as he says, a single convert; though he gave public notice, and delivered a set of discourses composed for the purpose, and he was well attended, especially at the first. He has given up his office in the college, and now has a private school, on which he cannot subsist. He wishes to come to Northumberland, where a schoolmaster is wanted; but we cannot do more than maintain a single man, and his Unitarianism would hurt him with us. Otherwise his society is the very thing that I most wish for. How I long to see you and other Christian friends in England! But the will of God be done.†

TO REV. T. BELSHAM.‡

DEAR SIR,

Philadelphia, March 2, 1801.

AFTER an absence of four years, I am once more in this city. I found the Unitarian society entirely dispersed, and the few that remained without any spirit to assemble again. As to the people in general, inattention to the subject of religion is very great.

You will rejoice with the friends of liberty in this country on the election of Mr. Jefferson for our next President.§ It has been a hard struggle, but the majority for him was considerable, and much greater in the wishes of the people than in the votes of the electors. The violence of the other party, and the extremes to which they were prepared to go, are hardly credible. I myself, who had done nothing more than you will see in my Letters,|| was in more danger than I imagined,

* Formerly of Montrose, N. B. See I. 352, 364, *notes*.

† *Orig. MS.*

‡ Hackney.

§ See his "Speech on taking the oaths to the Constitution, March 4, 1801." *N. A. Reg.* XXII. (201.)

|| "They had the effect," says Mr. Priestley, "of removing the unfavourable impressions made on the minds of the liberal and candid, and procured my father many friends. Fortunately, however, the violent measures then adopted, produced a complete change in the minds of the people, and in the representation, proving, by the peaceableness of it, the excellence of this form of government, and proving also that my father's sentiments were ap-

as I find it was under deliberation to send me out of the country under the Alien Act. It was certainly the wish of the Secretary of State, and other officers of government, but I imagined that Mr. Adams revolted at it. He desired, however, a person, who has just informed me of it, to write to me, to be upon my guard, lest I should, by Mr. ———, be led to destruction.*

I have been much interested in reading Eton's "Survey of the Turkish Empire." It must surely be near its fall. Connected with this, is the French keeping possession of Egypt, in which I rejoice, hoping that revolution in the East will terminate in the restoration of the Jews.†

FROM PRESIDENT JEFFERSON.

DEAR SIR,

Washington, March 21, 1801.

I LEARNT some time ago that you were in Philadelphia, but that it was only for a fortnight, and I supposed you were gone. It was not till yesterday I received information that you were still there, had been very ill, but were on the recovery.‡ I sincerely rejoice that you are so. Yours is one of the few

proved by nine-tenths of the people." *Continuation*, 8vo. p. 202; 12mo. pp. 182, 183.

* "It was intimated to my father," says Mr. Priestley, "from Mr. Adams himself, that he wished he would abstain from saying any thing on politics, lest he should get into difficulty." *Ibid.*

† *Orig. MS.*

‡ Mr. William Davy, writing to Mr. Lindsey from "Philadelphia," says, "March 14, 1801. Our good friend, Dr. Priestley, was seized, the 8th inst., with a violent disorder, which has proved to be a bilious pleurisy, and for some time threatened fatal consequences, but by the very free use of the lancet, under the direction of three of our most eminent physicians, he is now declared to be (almost) completely out of danger. I have just seen, and received from, Dr. Rush this information. He adds, that the Doctor is very weak, and will require time and care to be fully re-established.

"P. S. on the 18th. Dr. Priestley has had a very severe relapse. On Sunday, the 15th, the faculty gave him up, and expected he would expire that night; but by the success of the means adopted—inhaling steam of hot water and taking squills, he was, to the astonishment and great joy of all around him, relieved, and has, ever since, continued getting better, and it is now (on Wednesday evening) hoped that he will recover." *Orig. MS.*

lives precious to mankind, and for the continuance of which every thinking man is solicitous. Bigots may be an exception.

What an effort, my dear Sir, of bigotry, in politics and religion, have we gone through ! The barbarians really flattered themselves they should be able to bring back the times of Vandalism, when ignorance put every thing into the hands of power and priestcraft. All advances in science were proscribed as innovations. They pretended to praise and encourage education, but it was to be the education of our ancestors. We were to look backwards, not forwards, for improvement ; the President himself declaring, in one of his answers to addresses, that we were never to expect to go beyond them, in real science. This was the real ground of all the attacks on you. Those who live by mystery and *charlatanerie*, fearing you would render them useless by simplifying the Christian philosophy, the most sublime and benevolent, but most perverted system that ever shone on man, endeavoured to crush your well-earned and well-deserved fame. But it was the Lilliputians upon Gulliver. Our countrymen have recovered from the alarm into which art and industry had thrown them. Science and honesty are replaced on their high ground ; and you, my dear Sir, as their great apostle, are on its pinnacle. It is with heartfelt satisfaction that, in the first moments of my public action, I can hail you with welcome to our land, tender to you the homage of its respect and esteem, cover you under the protection of those laws which were made for the wise and good, like you, and disclaim the legitimacy of that libel on legislation which, under the form of a law, was some time placed among them.*

As the storm is now subsiding, and the horizon becoming serene, it is pleasant to consider the phenomenon with attention. We can no longer say there is nothing new under the sun. For this whole chapter in the history of man is new. The great extent of our republic is new. Its *sparse* habitation is new. The mighty wave of public opinion which has rolled

* " In the margin is written by the author, ' alien law.' "

over it, is new. But the most pleasing novelty is, it so quietly subsiding, over such an extent of surface, to its true level again. The order and good sense displayed in this recovery from delusion, and in the momentous crisis which lately arose, really bespeak a strength of character in our nation which augurs well for the duration of our republic; and I am much better satisfied now of its stability than I was before it was tried.

I have been, above all things, solaced by the prospects which opened on us in the event of a non-election of a President; in which case the Federal government would have been in the situation of a clock or watch run down. There was no idea of force, nor of any occasion for it. A Convention, invited by the republican members of Congress, with the virtual President and Vice-president, would have been on the ground in eight weeks, would have repaired the constitution where it was defective, and wound it up again. This peaceable and legitimate resource, to which we are in the habit of implicit obedience, superseding all appeal to force, and being always within our reach, shews a precious principle of self-preservation in our composition, till a change of circumstances shall take place, which is not within prospect of any definite period.

But I have got into a long disquisition on politics when I only meant to express my sympathy in the state of your health, and to tender you all the affections of public and private hospitality. I should be very happy indeed to see you here. I leave this about the 30th inst. to return about the 25th of April. If you do not leave Philadelphia before that, a little excursion hither would help your health. I should be much gratified with the possession of a guest I so much esteem, and should claim a right to lodge you, should you make such an excursion.

Accept the homage of my high consideration and respect, and assurances of affectionate attachment.*

* MS. copy, sent by Mr. Joseph Priestley to Mr. Lindsey; and since printed, *verbatim*, in "Memoirs, Correspondence, and Private Papers, of Thomas Jefferson," (1830,) III. 468—470.

TO MR. RUSSELL.*

DEAR SIR,

Philadelphia, April 4, 1801.

I AM just recovered from an illness, in which the physicians at one time despaired of me; but I am thankful that my recovery seems to be perfect, and they say that my constitution will be the better for it. I am, however, very weak, and am advised not to write. This is the first letter that I have undertaken.

I greatly admire your zeal in the good cause, and wish you may see the good effects of it, but you must be prepared for disappointment, for the difficulties you will have to encounter will be numerous. I would advise you to do nothing till you get to Paris, and see what may be done; and if a preacher can be employed to advantage, to write to Mr. Belsham to recommend one.

What publications of mine are translated into French I do not know; but the Letters to the Philosophers, &c., of France, I believe are. I have lately heard from Mr. Stone, and find he had not seen my Comparison. This work, and what I have published in this country, you will of course have with you, and may make what use of them circumstances shall direct.

The late French consul, Letombe, who goes to France very soon, has engaged to take care of any thing that I shall wish to send thither, and he will not be pleased if I do not send by him, so that I shall not have any occasion to trouble you. As to myself, I cannot go to France till I know more of the state of affairs there.

A zealous Christian friend and assistant will be, in a measure, necessary to you in France, but I know no such person. But we should never give way to anxiety, even about doing good, but content ourselves with being always ready to lay hold of every opportunity that offers, persuaded that every thing that is truly desirable to be done will be done in the proper time, and by the most proper persons.

I fully expect to set out for Northumberland the week after

* Middletown.

next, being well able to travel, and the weather is now such as to promise us pretty good roads. I should have been glad to have seen you before your voyage, but it could only have been a personal gratification, as nothing of importance depends upon it.*

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.†

DEAR FRIEND, *Philadelphia, April 8, 1801.*

MY son, I believe, wrote you a short letter while I was not able to write myself, though I was then recovering from a very dangerous illness. I am now, through the goodness of God, completely recovered, and want only a little more strength to be as well as I was when I came to Philadelphia. They call my disorder a bilious fever, with pleurisy; and, according to the established system here, I was bled profusely, seven times in all, under the direction of Dr. Rush, and to this I believe I owe my recovery. I hope now to return to Northumberland some time the next week, and I shall rejoice if the books you mentioned arrive before I return.

I have received a very kind and confidential letter from Mr. Jefferson, inviting me to complete my recovery by a visit to him. I hope you have received a copy of it. The change that has taken place in the politics of this country has been a happy one for me.

I desired Mr. Belsham to tell Mr. Johnson that I wished him to send me a small fount of Greek and Hebrew (pica or small pica) for the sake of the notes to my Commentary on the Scriptures. Desire him to send it the first opportunity. I long much to see my Essay, &c., with your preface.‡

TO MR. RUSSELL.§

DEAR SIR, *Philadelphia, April 12, 1801.*

I HAVE just received your kind letter of April 10, and have no more than time to inform you that a carriage is come for us, and we leave this place to-morrow morning. As you do not

* Orig. MS.

† Orig. MS. See *supra*, p. 444.

‡ Essex Street.

§ Middletown.

go soon, I may yet see you at Northumberland, but if you go with Mr. Henry or Mr. Letombe, you will go pretty soon. Mr. Letombe you cannot but like. He has been consul here, many years, and is esteemed by every body.

I greatly admire your zeal and your liberality in support of rational Christianity; and whether your excellent purpose be answered or not, you will have no reason to repent of what you do. No man can give his time or money to a better purpose; but we must not look for our recompence in this world.

You must certainly be some time in France before you can see what is best for you to do. No doubt it is desirable to have a person who can preach in French; but there are many English in Paris, and many Frenchmen who understand English, so that one English congregation* might be very useful.†

TO REV. T. BELSHAM.‡

DEAR SIR,

Northumberland, May 14, 1801.

YOUR late sermon§ I like much. It is an excellent summary of prevailing errors, with hints sufficient for their refutation. Such a tract was wanting, and will be very useful. If you started with a view to follow my example, you have now got beyond me. It is a bolder sermon than I ever preached. But my boldness was never so much in preaching as in publishing, though I never declined speaking my sentiments from the pulpit on proper occasions. Nothing is ultimately gained by temporizing; and I am confident you will never see reasons to repent of the openness you have always discovered.||

* An "English Unitarian Church" has been, just now, "formed in Paris." See the *Declaration* of "a Meeting Dec. 4, 1831," to establish "The Unitarian Association of France."

† *Orig. MS.*

‡ Hackney.

§ Mr. Belsham had published "Dishonest Shame, the Primary Source of the Corruptions of the Christian Doctrine;" followed by "A Serious Caution against Popular Errors, a Sermon addressed to Young Persons."

|| Of "the openness" which, like his correspondent, Dr. Priestley had "always discovered," and its beneficial results, I observe a gratifying acknowledgment, at "the Second Anniversary of the Irish Unitarian Christian Society held in Dublin, April 30" last.

"Mr. William Porter" justly remarks of "the Scripture Doctrine" of "Dr. Samuel Clarke," that "it sought to win the Church to Unitarianism,

If by Christ *abolishing the heavy yoke of the law*, (p. 6,) you mean with respect to the *Jews*, as well as the *Gentiles*, I differ from you. I have also doubts concerning *angels*, though none concerning “the devil and his angels.” Those that appeared at the sepulchre of Jesus, and at his ascension, must have been real beings. I sometimes imagine they may have been men raised from the dead. The angels that appeared to Abraham, &c., I consider as temporary appearances, representing the Supreme Being, since they were addressed as such; but this was not the case of the two who rescued Lot. They spake and acted as by commission from a superior.* We shall know more of this hereafter.

When I was at Philadelphia I met with, and purchased the *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*, 26 vols. 12mo, and find them exceedingly interesting on several accounts. Among other things I find the following passage, (IV. 25,) in a letter from a district to the west of the Caspian Sea, which, being a province of the Assyrian empire, was probably the place to which the ten tribes were carried captive :

by affecting to find Unitarianism in the standards of the Church.” The eloquent speaker soon proposes the following contrast :

“In an after day, another champion, less cautious in his tactics, issued from the ranks of the orthodox Dissenters, and as long as the highest moral worth, united to an ardent longing after truth, shall command respect, the name of Priestley must be held in reverence. This great man adopted a course of proceeding the reverse of that pursued by Dr. Clarke. He cried aloud and spared not. With him there was no attempt to conciliate persons or principles which he felt it his duty to denounce, and at first the results appeared to be disastrous.

“He was blamed by timid friends for his imprudence, he was assailed by open enemies for his presumption; he was exposed to the attacks of adverse parties, to the high-church intolerance of Horsley, and the sceptic sneer of Gibbon. A half religious, half political mob, destroyed at Birmingham his literary and scientific property. A social persecution followed him to London with unremitted virulence, and he was at length driven from a country of which he was an ornament, to seek shelter in a foreign land. But what was the ultimate effect of all this? We may read it in the flourishing state of Unitarianism in England, and in the cheering progress which it has made in America, to which the storms of persecution carried the seeds of truth. Channing has done much, but he entered in some degree into the labours of Priestley.” *Christian Pioneer*, (1832,) VI. 345, 346.

* See *supra*, p. 402.

“The greatest part of the inhabitants of this province were formerly removed to the other extremity of Persia into the mountains between Balk, Cabul, and Candahar, where they have preserved their former name, with some little alteration, being called Afghans, but the roughness of the country has perverted their natural dispositions. They have become robbers, and have made themselves formidable to the caravans that go to India.”

These Afghans, Sir William Jones says, are the remains of the ten tribes;* but he does not account for their being settled there, nor indeed does this writer. The writer of a note on the passage says they were removed by Tamerlane, but he found them where they now are.

I long thought as you do, that the passage in Job† had no reference to a resurrection; but you see I have reverted to the common interpretation. I have nothing, however, to add to what you have seen in my tract on that subject.‡ I am glad to hear that your Lectures on the Mind§ are in such forwardness.

I cannot help being anxious about the fate of my native country, to which I am a sincere well-wisher. Here every thing is promising.||

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.¶

DEAR FRIEND, *Northumberland, May 28, 1801.*

I HAVE received yours of Feb. 5 and 25. The satisfaction is more than in your situation you can well imagine.

My chief resource is my daily occupation; in the first place, performing what I call my *task*, which at present consists chiefly in arranging and preparing for the press the many additions which a long course of reading has enabled me to make to the two works I have in hand,** and I hope that in

* See W. XV. 287, *note*; XVI. 12.

† xix. 23—27.

‡ W. XII. 498—502.

§ “Elements of the Doctrine of the Human Mind, and of Moral Philosophy.” Several of these lectures I heard Mr. Belsham deliver, about 1799, to a select society, at his house in Hackney.

|| *Orig.* MS.

¶ Essex Street.

** See *supra*, p. 448.

less than a month they will both be in such a state as that any friend may publish them if I should die. If I live, I shall go over them again and again, in order to make them as perfect as I can, for I shall hardly undertake any other works of much consequence. Being so near the shore, it begins to be time to take in some of my sails.

My time cannot now be long, I mean my time for working, and I am thankful that while I was able to work, I have not wanted the necessary means, either of books or instruments. Hitherto I have great reason to be thankful that my supplies, without looking out for them, have always been equal to my wants. Nothing could be more seasonable than the two legacies,* though they have added nothing to my own expenditure.

We have just heard of the success of Nelson before Copenhagen,† but I fear it will not lead to peace.‡

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND, *Northumberland, June 11, 1801.*

SINCE I wrote last, I have received six copies of my tract on a Future State,§ and on the 18th of Isaiah. I thank you for your very friendly preface. When shall I acknowledge my many obligations to you in person? Not, I now fear, on this side the grave. I therefore think the more of the state beyond it.

Mr. Russell is just sailed for France, after urging me much to accompany him; but I have no thoughts of leaving this quiet asylum till there be a settled peace.

Mr. Christie has been here a week, to try whether he can raise a grammar-school in this place. I shall do all that I can for him. He desires to be particularly remembered to you, and to know whether you received a letter he wrote to you about a year ago, inclosing a copy of a small pamphlet.

I have not received all the books I ordered from Mr. John-

* See *supra*, pp. 404, 443.

† April 2. See *N. A. Reg.* XXII. 260, (20)—(25).

‡ *Orig.* MS.

§ See *N. A. Reg.* XXII. [242.]

son. Please to add Gale's Answer to Wall, and Wall's Reply; Sir John Pringle's Discourses and Life, by Dr. Kippis; Chandler's Life of King David; Colin Milne's Botanical Dictionary, Botanic Dialogues, 8vo, and the other books of Natural History of his publishing that I mentioned in my letter from Philadelphia; Kirwan's Analysis of Mineral Waters; Crosby's History of English Baptists. Perhaps by this time there may be another volume of the New Annual Register.*

TO MR. R. PHILLIPS.†

DEAR SIR,

Northumberland, June 18, 1801.

I DO not know how to express the sense I have of my many obligations to you for the valuable books you have from time to time sent me, especially that most curious work on the Chinese characters.

A person must be in my situation, remote from a regular communication with Europe, to judge of my feelings when I receive new books. We have no sale catalogues here, and no books of literature or philosophy are printed in this country. Every thing of this kind, as well as all philosophical instruments, must come from Europe. In every other respect this country is in an astonishing state of improvement,‡ and the increase of population is beyond any thing that has ever been known in any part of the world.§ Here, too, we enjoy the

* *Orig. MS.*

† London.

‡ In literature, also, it was now progressing. In 1789 the estimated "number of newspapers printed weekly was 76,438, annually, 3,974,776." In 1801 "there were printed about 200 newspapers, 17 daily, 7 three times a week, 30 twice a week, 146 weekly. The whole number circulated in the United States" was then estimated, "at a moderate computation, to be 12,000,000."

In 1799, "an American Review was begun at New York." In 1802, "the German plan of disposing of books, by means of literary fairs, was adopted in the United States."

1800. "At the commencement of the century there was in New England but one college completely founded, but now there were six. In the colonies south of Connecticut there was one only, but now there were fifteen or sixteen." *Amer. Ann.* II. 408, 409, 411, 412.

§ In Massachusetts there were, "by census," in 1763, "whites, 235,810, blacks, 5214:" in 1776, "whites, 343,845; blacks, 5249:" in 1784, "whites,

great blessings of peace and plenty, which unfortunately you want; but this war must surely have some termination, and I am willing to hope that it cannot now be at any great distance.*

TO REV. T. BELSHAM.†

DEAR SIR,

Northumberland, June 25, 1801.

I THINK I mentioned to you, my wish to have Gale's Answer to Wall, and Wall's Reply. I had been reading Robinson and others on the subject of Baptism, and wished to address a letter to a learned Baptist. That infant baptism was originally practised by Christian parents from the time of the apostles, appears to me to be so clearly proved by Mr. Wall, that I cannot imagine what reply can be made to his arguments by Mr. Gale. I once had the book, (before the riots,) but I had not read it.

The party-spirit is not so high as it was, owing to the moderation and prudence of Mr. Jefferson.‡ I hope you will

353,133; blacks, 4377." There were, "in the state of New York," in 1756, "whites, 96,775; blacks, 13,542;" in 1786, "whites, 220,008; blacks, 18,889." *Ibid.* pp. 222, 383, 386, notes.

"The inhabitants of the United States" amounted "by census" in 1790 to "3,929,326," including "695,655 slaves;" in 1800, to "5,305,482," including "998,583 blacks." *Ibid.* pp. 394, 409, 420.

On the now ascertained advance of the United States, or (according to the vocabulary of Church and King) the "tumultuous democracy," from "three millions to thirteen," see *supra*, p. 260, note.

* *Orig.* MS. among Mr. Upcott's autographs.

† Hackney.

‡ Thus discovered and recommended in his inaugural speech, to which I have referred (*supra*, p. 454, note §):

"During the contest of opinion through which we have passed, the animation of discussions and exertions has sometimes worn an aspect which might impose on strangers, unused to think freely, and to speak and to write what they think; but this being now decided by the voice of the nation, announced according to the rules of the constitution, all will of course arrange themselves under the will of the law, and unite in common efforts for the common good. All, too, will bear in mind this sacred principle, that, though the will of the majority is in all cases to prevail, that will, to be rightful, must be reasonable; that the minority possess their equal rights, which equal laws must protect, and to violate would be oppression.

"Let us, then, fellow-citizens, unite with one heart and one mind. Let us restore to social intercourse that harmony and affection, without which

have seen a copy of his letter to me. From that, and my "Letters to the Inhabitants of Northumberland," of which I have printed a new edition, you will see reason to congratulate me on the change of administration in this country. I shall hardly accept of his invitation to be his guest, but his known good opinion and good-will is of value.

We have just heard of the expulsion of the French out of Egypt,* but fear it will not lead to peace, but rather to a prolongation of this disastrous war. We do not, however, give entire credit to the account, which at present is only general.

I have at this moment heard of a *box* of books sent by some mistake to Carlisle, and which had been there two years. It contains, they say, several of my own publications.†

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.‡

DEAR FRIEND,

Northumberland, July 22, 1801.

I HAVE just received yours of March 30. I shall soon write to the Duke, to acknowledge his continued favour. Assisted as I am, I should be inexcusable if I did not do every thing in my power to promote the cause of truth, and also of science. I thank God, I am in no want of any means that are necessary to the objects of my pursuit. When I consider my library and apparatus, so ample as they are, and think that at the riots in Birmingham I was stripped of almost every thing, I am filled with astonishment and gratitude.

Mr. Galton says, my friends in England wish me to send my philosophical publications to Nicholson's Journal, or the Philosophical Magazine; but I do not like to risk a MS. to that distance, as I seldom take more than one copy of any thing, and they may be copied into those works from the Medical Repository, which is a truly valuable publication. I lately

liberty, and even life itself, are but dreary things; and let us reflect that, having banished from our land that religious intolerance, under which mankind so long bled and suffered, we have yet gained little, if we countenance a political intolerance, as despotic as wicked, and capable of as bitter and bloody persecution." *N. A. Rev.* XXII. (201), (202).

* It occurred in September. See *ibid.* pp. 262—265, (84)—(86).

† *Orig.* MS.

‡ Essex Street.

sent two articles for it. To-day I send another; and I shall soon draw out a fourth. One of these relates to some phenomena in dreams; and another, some confirmation of Mr. Noah Webster's Observations on Pestilential Diseases. This is a very curious and important work, which I wish you would read. He is what is here called a Federalist, and wrote an answer to my Letters to the Inhabitants of Northumberland; but I made no reply to him.

I have had an example how much more pungent is our grief for small things than for greater. My little grand-daughter, a lively girl, that I am very fond of, got the seal you gave me as a keepsake, and carried it away. It was missing about a week, and my concern was really greater than I can describe; but at length our servant-man found it in the garden, when I had despaired of ever seeing it again. I shall take more care of it for the future. My joy on its recovery was in proportion to my grief.

I thank you for your advice about going to France. I shall be governed by it. But really I have now very little expectation of ever seeing any part of Europe. May our meeting be in more favourable circumstances.*

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND, *Northumberland, July 30, 1801.*

BY our last post I have received yours of the 22d of May. I am not surprised to hear of the death of Dr. Heberden.† His was a good and a happy old age. He had done enough for me, and I shall always think of him with respect and gratitude. I am thankful that my supplies have always been, and now are, equal to my wants. At least, I will make the latter correspond to the former; and indeed, at my time of life, my wants are much contracted, as I shall hardly engage in any thing materially new. The annual expense of my laboratory will hardly exceed 50*l.*, and I think I may have done more in proportion to my expenses than any other man. What I have done here,

* *Orig.* MS.

† See I. 215.

and with little expense,* (now that I am in possession of an excellent apparatus,) will in time be thought very considerable; but on account of the almost universal reception of the new theory, what I do is not, at present, attended to; but Mr. Watt and Mr. Keir, as good chemists as any in Europe, approve of my tract on Phlogiston, and truth will in time prevail over any error.

I can begin to print as soon as I can raise money enough to buy the paper. I have had great satisfaction in the composition of both these works, especially the Notes on the Scriptures. How is it that some can read with contempt what we read with admiration and the greatest reverence? I do not, however, feel the least disposition to abandon the study of nature. Each gives an additional relish to the other.†

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND,

Northumberland, Oct. 2, 1801.

HAVING sent to Mr. Nicholson a paper of experiments on the pile of Volta, I beg you would send him the above P. S. to it, and ask whether he have received the paper itself. I, this day, send him another article, in reply to what Mr. Cruikshank had advanced in the Journal on the subject of the new theory.

Having had great success in my experiments in this country, as well as in England, I shall never desert philosophy; but I have much more satisfaction in theological studies, and I find they greatly aid one another. I have lately given more attention than I had done before, to natural history, and am exceedingly interested in it. Several conclusions of a higher nature are strongly suggested by this study. In a plan abounding with such marks of Infinite Wisdom, nothing surely can ultimately go wrong, and observations with a microscope convince us that the smallest things are attended to, as much as the greatest; the smallest events, therefore, as well as the greater and more striking. This consideration tends to reconcile us to small troubles and disappointments, as well as to

* See I. 76, note †.

† *Orig. MS.*

those of greater magnitude. All are equally from the same hand.

The view of the creation, and the connexion of its parts, must convince any attentive person of the folly of Arianism. No Being but He that planned and executed the whole, could create or superintend any part of the system.

It must appear impossible that a Being of such immense wisdom and power can bear the least ill-will to any of his creatures, whose conduct, be it what it may, was a necessary part of his benevolent plan. It follows, with a force that gives me in my present situation a satisfaction I cannot describe, that the most refractory tempers must be rectified, some time or other, and in the mean time they are not without their use here, and the worst dispositions must be reclaimed. You will know to what I refer.*

You wish me to visit Mr. Jefferson, and I have no objection, but the length of the journey, and the difficulties in the conveyance, of which I cannot give you an idea. However, if Mr. Jefferson's views succeed, I am rather inclined to go, especially as I shall preach to some advantage; but I fear that the bigotry of some, and the federalism of others, will defeat the scheme, and my own wishes are nearly balanced. I shall be much

* See *supra*, pp. 407, 451. The work mentioned by Dr. Priestley, *supra*, p. 418, is "An Essay on Universal Redemption, tending to prove that the general Sense of Scripture favours the Opinion of the final Salvation of all Mankind. By the Rev. John Browne, M.A., late of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, 1798."

An anonymous contemporary, who deduces the same benevolent conclusion from very different premises, says on another subject, and, respecting Dr. Priestley, in a style of unwarrantable censure,

"Had Bishop Bull, Mr. Leslie, Dr. Waterland, Dr. Allix. Mr. Jones, Bishop Horsley, Mr. Badcock, Mr. Hawes, Dr. Geddes, and others, granted the doctrine of the pre-existence of souls, Dr. Priestley would not, after beating them, have treated the subject in debate with so much supercilious contempt, maintaining that Jesus Christ had never any spiritual existence, being a non-entity, before the existence of Mary his mother."

See "The Pre-existence of Souls and Universal Restitution considered as Scripture Doctrines. Extracted from the Minutes and Correspondence of Burnham Society, 1798," p. 53, *note*. Of this society the eccentric Mr. John Henderson (see I. 235) was a distinguished member.

more comfortable at home, as it will be in the winter, and can employ myself to more advantage.

I have the Cambridge papers to June 27. The account of the debates in Parliament interests me much, and we have seldom any thing of them in the American papers. In your parcel I have received Mr. Morgan's pamphlet.* Give my compliments and thanks to him. I shall write again soon.

P. S. I hope you see the Medical Repository. It will generally contain some article of mine, and on many accounts it is worth having. We have had an uncommonly sickly season in all these parts, though very few have died. You will see that I foretold it. I have had a slight ague, and not one in the family has entirely escaped.

I thank God continually for your health and spirits, and hope that our lamps will go out nearly together. I am not what I was before my fever in Philadelphia. I have lost flesh and strength, but in other respects I feel very well; but bodily labour, either in the garden, in which I took much pleasure,† or in the laboratory, is now irksome to me, and I read more than I did.‡

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND,

Northumberland, Oct. 24, 1801.

I HAVE received uncommon satisfaction from Mr. Kirwan's Geological Essays.§ It is a work worthy of a Christian philosopher, and with candid and judicious readers will weigh much in the scale of the evidences of revelation. I shall make much use of it in my notes on the first chapter of Genesis,|| though there are still some difficulties that are not completely removed. Chemistry was never employed to so good a purpose before.

But the more we see into any part of the constitution of nature, the more do all the difficulties attending the system of

* "A Comparative View of the Public Finances, from the Beginning to the Close of the late Administration." See *N. A. Reg.* XXII. [302].

† See *supra*, p. 311, note.

‡ *Orig.* MS.

§ See *N. A. Reg.* XXI. [271.]

|| See, on *Gen.* i. 25, vii. 11, W. XI. 45, 55.

revelation vanish. That of the resurrection appears as nothing in the eye of a person who contemplates, as he ought, the wonders of creation, which Mr. Kirwan, with great probability, has shewn not to have been all at once, but in succession, as new occasions required the production of new plants or animals; and those of this part of the world were probably subsequent to those of yours. Others also may be suffered to become extinct when there shall be no more occasion for them. He well observes, that beasts and fishes of prey, (and no doubt birds too,) were probably created a long time after the animals they preyed upon had become numerous.

This idea of successive creations, so agreeable to reason, and not contradicted by scripture, removes all the great difficulties attending the history of the flood and the ark, and is particularly pleasing as an evidence of the constant attention that the great Creator gives to his works, and makes it more easy to suppose, that when the general state of things shall require it, the resurrection of the dead, or any other exertion of Divine power that may be equally proper in itself, will certainly take place.

Having more time for reading than ever I had before, though I do not neglect my laboratory, I have perused with care many works which I had only looked into, or occasionally consulted before. I have found unexpected satisfaction, both instruction and amusement, in the *Lettres Edificantes et Curieuses** of the Jesuits, and fortunately I got the new edition of 1781, by exchanging other books for them, when I was last in Philadelphia. I have actually read twenty-one volumes, omitting very little, though I did not intend to read more than a few of them.

The writers in general were very extraordinary men, and, I doubt not, of great piety and the best intentions, and seem to have been actuated by a truly Christian spirit. I am sensible that I could neither bear nor do what those missionaries did. When will rational Christianity make such exertions? Their labours and sufferings were so great, that I cannot think they were the mercenary and crafty persons that they have been

* See *supra*, p. 461.

represented. Some of the letters are peculiarly edifying; yet, exposed themselves to the most grievous persecution, (which, however, they courted and rejoiced in more than became Christians,) they could approve of the persecution of the Protestants in France. But the same spirit we see in Calvin, and many of the most distinguished reformers. If you can meet with this work, you cannot but be pleased with many parts of it.

The various articles of news that you send me are very interesting and pleasing, especially those relating to the spread of Unitarianism. I wish I could give you a similar account of the state of things here, though I doubt not that prejudices are wearing out, and that truth will prevail in due time. I am glad to hear what you say of Mr. Palmer. As he returns in good circumstances,* I hope he returns as zealous a Christian and Unitarian as he was when he went.†

TO REV. J. P. ESTLIN.‡

DEAR SIR,

Northumberland, Dec. 12, 1801.

I HOPE that now peace is made, the intercourse between this country and yours will be more regular.

I esteem you as one of the few who retain their integrity and zeal in these trying times, and some have fallen whom I should least have suspected of unsteadiness; so that really I do not know whom to depend upon. I rejoice, however, that you think the *plague* is in some measure *stayed*, though a fatal indifference to religion is taking the place of infidelity. This, to my surprise, has taken place here, perhaps, to a greater degree than with you, and it seems to be the effect of the unbounded liberty we here enjoy. There is no cry of the oppressor and the oppressed, which, though an evil, serves to excite attention and discussion of the points of difference. There is nothing of this kind here. Except one small pamphlet in defence of the doctrine of the Trinity, published after the

* Alas! he did not return, (see *supra*, p. 221, note †,) nor, though never indigent, was he, I believe, in what the world calls "good circumstances."

† Orig. MS.

‡ Bristol.

delivery of my Discourses in Philadelphia, and which drew no attention, there has not been, that I have heard of, a single pamphlet relating to any controversy in religion. Of course, the people are very ignorant; and yet there is great bigotry among those who pretend to any religion, especially the Presbyterians. The Episcopalians are far more liberal.

P. S. I have received your sermon on the Sabbath,* and that which you delivered at the Unitarian Society, and like them both very much; but you pay me too high a compliment. All your publications are calculated to do much good.†

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.‡

DEAR FRIEND, *Northumberland, Feb. 14, 1802.*

IT is now a long time since I have heard from you or Mr. Belsham; but this is a time of the year when there are few arrivals at Philadelphia, and few ships go from it; so that you may be as long in hearing from me. Though our rivers are unfrozen, it cannot be known with you that they are so, and, therefore, ships do not usually come to us. The winter here is uncommonly mild. We have had no snow that remained more than about a day, and that very slight. No person living remembers so mild a season.

You mentioned Mr. Maseres§ having sent me the third or fourth volume of his *Scriptôres Logarithmici*. I have only the two first volumes.

Some of my late letters will, probably, give you some alarm respecting my health. It is true, that the various illnesses of the last year, the fever at Philadelphia, and the ague here, have shaken and reduced me very much; and though I am now recruiting again, I think it necessary to lose no time in doing what I am yet capable of.

I am sorry to give up my fond wish to see you, once more, on this side the grave, which I hoped the peace would give me

* "An Apology for the Sabbath." *N. A. Reg.* XXII. [243], [244].

† *Orig.* MS.

‡ Essex Street.

§ I. 411, note §. See *Mem. of Lindsey*, p. 433, note.

an opportunity of doing; but this must be abandoned to considerations of greater urgency and importance. The expense attending a visit to Europe would be very great, and will print several volumes of my works.

P. S. Since the preceding was written, I have received yours of Nov. 17, and thank you for the copy of the note on *Is. liii.*, &c. I shall certainly reconsider the subject, and even rejoice if I can see reason to change my late opinion,* which, however, was not formed hastily.†

TO MR. J. H. STONE.‡

DEAR SIR,

Northumberland, Feb. 19, 1802.

AT length I have had the satisfaction I had almost despaired of, to receive a letter from you, and one that interests me exceedingly; especially with respect to the ecclesiastical state of France and the character of the Emperor of Russia;§ from whom I now expect great things.||

* See *supra*, pp. 403, 444.

† *Orig.* MS.

‡ Paris.

§ Alexander. His father, the Emperor Paul, had “expired *suddenly*, Mar. 23, 1801.” See *N. A. Reg.* XXII. 260, 261.

|| This expectation of “great things,” in an *imperial* abundance, Mr. Russell, also, appears to have indulged. Thus, writing to Mr. Belsham, from “Paris, 21st August, 1802,” after referring to “the excellent letter Mr. Jefferson addressed to Dr. Priestley,” he adds,

“I doubt not, you have frequent occasions of rejoicing in the continued accounts you receive, of the only competitor Mr. Jefferson appears to have, amongst the rulers of the earth, *the Emperor of all the Russias*. His late preceptor, Colonel La Harpe, recently returned from a visit to Petersburg, has furnished a variety of truly interesting anecdotes respecting him.

“His desire to do good was beyond *principle*; so ardent and unceasing was it ever found, that it uniformly appeared as a *passion*. When speaking of his people, he was never once heard to call them his *subjects*, but his *fellow-citizens*; when speaking of himself, never once to use the title of Emperor, but expressing for his people the affection of a father rather than the authority of the magistrate.

“He expressly enjoined upon La Harpe, not to come near him on the day of his coronation. After it was over, he told him, that the ceremony he had been obliged to submit to, was the severest mortification he had ever experienced; and so much had it humbled and agitated him, that, had he accidentally met his eye, he should certainly have sunk under the consciousness of his situation.” (*Dictu mirabile monstrum.*)

At the conclusion of these “interesting anecdotes,” *ad captandum vulgus*,

I am concerned that you had not received any of my letters, especially by Mr. Letombe, the late Consul. On him I had the greatest dependence. I also wrote to M. Adet and M. Talleyrand, but have had no answer. I had lately a short letter from Mr. Russell, referring me to a larger, which has not come to hand.

I shall rejoice if the communications between the two countries become open and regular, and especially if I can be in the way of receiving books, &c., from France; and now that there is peace, I do not despair of it. As to my visiting Europe, it is now too late in life to think of it, and my health has received a rude shock by a fever I had at Philadelphia, and the ague since, though, I thank God, I am now very well. Were I younger, and could I speak French fluently, I should not hesitate about it.

Your undertaking to translate and publish my "History of the Corruptions of Christianity," is very flattering to me, and I hope will do some good, probably more than my being with you. This could only excite attention for a short time. If I should come, I should be happy to be under the same roof with you. Could I be persuaded that any good could arise to rational Christianity by my removing to France, I should not hesitate about it, though I am situated here, in all respects, as much to my liking as I could possibly be any where, and have every convenience for making experiments. But I am about to print, at this place, two pretty large works; the Church History to the present time, and Notes on all the Books of Scripture, and I cannot remove till that be done; so that there will be time to consider of the measure.

You do not say whether you have received a copy of my but which had now caught a superior mind, Mr. Russell exclaims, "What renovations amongst mankind may we not hope for!" *Orig. MS.*

Among the public compliments to the allied sovereigns, in 1814, Alexander appeared in a transparency, in the act of assisting to recover a poor Pole from death by drowning, which occasioned the following *Impromptu* by "Plain-Truth:"

Audi alteram partem.

Imperial generosity! how pleasant!

Poland enslav'd, and sav'd one *Polish* peasant. M. R. IX. 363.

tract on Phlogiston, though I sent you several. I have no doubt of the downfall of the new theory, notwithstanding the abilities of the supporters of it. I wish my tract could be translated into French. If I find the communication certain, you will often hear from me.

P. S. If I could meet with a person going to Paris, on whom I could depend, I would send you a copy of a letter of Mr. Jefferson's to myself; which would give you a clearer idea of of him than any of his public papers, though perfectly agreeable to them. He is every thing that the friends of liberty can wish.*

TO THE SAME.

DEAR SIR,

1802.

I SHALL not omit the opportunity I have of writing to you by means of Mr. Fenwick, though he will go to England before he sees France. By him I shall venture to send a copy of Mr. Jefferson's letter to me, which I promised in my last. I must, however, require, that it may not, on any account, go out of your own hands, or a copy be taken of it, much more that it be not translated and printed. I should forfeit his friendship by such an event.

I must again say how much satisfaction I received from the various interesting particulars of your letter. I have sent a copy of part of it to Mr. Jefferson, as the information it contains would be useful and interesting to him, and could not be injurious to you. Mr. Cooper is not with us at present, being detained at Lancaster during the sitting of our representatives. He makes himself conspicuous, and will be a rising man in this country; but the Americans have a great jealousy of all foreigners, and the more if they be likely to eclipse themselves. When he comes, which will probably be in a few weeks, I shall deliver your message.

I have put to the press, in this place, the continuation of my Church History to the present time. The last period is necessarily unfinished, and for this I shall be obliged to your

* MS. copy from *orig.* in possession of M. Coquerel, Paris.

communications with respect to the state of religion on the continent of Europe. Your last contains a valuable and pleasing article respecting the spread of Unitarianism in Germany.

I am much concerned to hear of the war with Toussaint in St. Domingo, and fear it will not terminate soon, as the Negroes are in the mountainous parts, and, no doubt, have laid up provisions and ammunition in great plenty, and they are well disciplined: they may hold out a long time. Indeed, the event appears very uncertain, whatever force be sent against them; and it is not for liberty, but for Toussaint only, that they fight. Could this be well understood among them, it might have a good effect.*

TO REV. T. BELSHAM.†

DEAR SIR,

Northumberland, April 10, 1802.

I HAVE received, at length, your “Elements of the Philosophy of the Mind,”‡ and have read the whole, except some parts of the treatise of Logic prefixed to it, and with peculiar eagerness; and I assure you it has not disappointed the expectations I had from it, though these were pretty high. It is indeed remarkably clear, as well as comprehensive, and will, I doubt not, be long considered as a standard work on the subject, and contribute much to establish the true theory of the mental operations.

In a systematic treatise many parts will, to the generality of readers, necessarily appear dry; but to all intelligent readers, some must appear even sublime and animated, beyond what could have been expected from any elementary treatise. Every writer is the best judge of his own method, or I should have thought that some parts of your theory of the Mind might have been referred to the treatise on Logic, and a great part of the Moral Philosophy to that on the Mind; but as they are all in the same volume, the arrangement is of little consequence.

If I differ from you in any thing, it is in what you say of *space* and *duration*, which I cannot help thinking we justly

* MS. copy, as before.

† Hackney.

‡ See *supra*, p. 462.

conclude to have real existence, and, of course, necessary existence, though, in some respects, the subject, as including the idea of *infinity*, is beyond our comprehension. I have no doubt, from the progress that has already been made in the inquiry, that all *instincts* may be resolved into acquired knowledge; and that brute animals have *general ideas*, is, I think, as evident, as that men who are no logicians have them. Is it not a proof of this, that objects similar to those they have seen before affect them in a similar manner? A sheep, for example, having been torn by a dog, will fly from any animal resembling a dog, as well as from any other dog that has not torn it. Lastly, to close the short account of our differences, I see no reason to suppose there is any difference between the power of choosing among *equal objects* in the Divine Mind and those of created beings.

I wish you would give my respects to Mr. Morgan, who is a Fellow of the Society, and desire him to take the Philosophical Transactions, of the Clerk, for me. The last I have is the second part, for 1800. It is of much consequence to me to have every thing of this kind as early as possible. Engaged as I am in an important philosophical controversy,* it is a suffi-

* During the course of which, he thus addresses his *quondam* scientific associates, in the preface, to which he has referred, *supra*, p. 446, *ad fin.*

“My philosophical friends must excuse me, if, without neglecting natural science, I give a decided preference to theological studies; and if here, as in Europe, I give the greatest part of my time to them. They are, unquestionably, of unspeakably more importance to men, as beings destined for immortality; and I apply myself with so great satisfaction to the study of nature, not so much on account of the advantage we derive from it at present, though this is very considerable, as from its being a delightful field of speculation, barely opening to us here, and to be resumed with far greater advantage in a future state.

“No discovery in philosophy bears any proportion in real value to that of *bringing life and immortality to light*, which is completely effected in the gospel, and nowhere else. None of our experiments, or observations on the course of nature, could have given us the least glimpse of this.

“But the evidence of this great truth, though of the most satisfactory kind, not being that of *sense*, but requiring *attention* and *reflection*, persons much engaged in the business of the world, and even in literary and scientific pursuits, are not always convinced by it. It also requires a candid and well-disposed mind, and therefore philosophers (who have their prejudices, as well

ent disadvantage to be at this distance from the theatre of investigation. I do not, however, feel much interested in the

as other men) are not always Christians. Among those of this class, I am, however, happy in being able to rank not a few who would do honour to any cause; and the number of truly philosophical Christians, I am well persuaded, will, in due time, increase. As Paul said to King Agrippa, who said that he had 'almost persuaded him to be a Christian, that he wished that both he, and all who then heard him, were both almost, and altogether, such as he himself was, except his bonds;' so there is no greater happiness that I can wish to all my philosophical friends than that, with respect to religion and their future prospects, they were what I am, without the calumnies, and the still more serious injuries, to which I have been exposed.

"Without a view to this future situation, all our pursuits appear to me to have little in them that is interesting, especially in the decline of life, and the near prospect of death, which, if it put a period to our existence, involves every thing in everlasting darkness, leaving us uncertain whether even the world itself, and the whole race of man, as well as all other animals, may not be doomed to destruction. How gloomy is this prospect, and how dead and indifferent does it render a reflecting mind, to every great pursuit!

"How thankful, then, ought we to be for an assurance of an endless state of existence, and in circumstances infinitely more favourable than the present! The evidence of this great doctrine (in comparison with which every other inquiry is as nothing) is surely worthy of our most assiduous examination, infinitely more so than a title to an estate, or a claim to a kingdom in this world, which no wise man would be thought justifiable in neglecting.

"This being, perhaps, the last time that I may have an opportunity of addressing myself to my philosophical friends, who, I am concerned to perceive, are generally unbelievers in revelation, I would make it my dying request, proceeding from the most sincere good-will to them, to attend to this subject, especially what I took the liberty to urge [W. XXV. 378—384] in the preface to the sixth volume of my *Observations on Air*, which was reprinted in the new edition of that work in three volumes, and also to my *Letters to the Philosophers and Politicians of France*, on the subject of Religion, my *Letters to a Philosophical Unbeliever*, and my other works in defence of revelation.

"Independently of the consideration of the infinitely superior importance of the subject, religion will give a double relish to philosophical pursuits, and will thereby contribute to their success. It is only a wretched superstition, and not religion, that draws men's attention from natural science, or, with any other view, drives men into retirement, and excludes them from any active and useful pursuits. On the contrary, it tends to inspire men with increased activity, and imparts increasing satisfaction and animation in every proper and laudable exertion. Of this, I think I may say, I have exhibited an example in myself. My numerous publications will shew that, from early life, I have given the greatest part of my time to theological studies, and yet few have been more assiduous in physical inquiries, since I have had the

discussion, though I shall give due attention to it, and should not be much mortified if I were even obliged to confess myself to have been in an error. Philosophy is now more an amusement than ever, in consequence of being occupied with subjects of much more importance.*

TO MR. RUSSELL.†

DEAR SIR,

Northumberland, April 10, 1802.

I HAVE received only one short letter from you since you left us, and one from Mr. Stone, some time after. You were then at Paris, but about to visit your estate in Normandy.

I think that I gave some intimation of my health having been considerably impaired, in consequence of a fever that I had in Philadelphia the last winter. Admonished by this, and my advanced state of life, (for I am in my 70th year,) that what I do I must do quickly, I have begun to print my Church History, and, if I can supply the necessary funds, this will be followed by my Notes on the Scripture. This undertaking will necessarily detain me here, for some time, even if my health would admit of my making a voyage to Europe, which, at present, it would not.‡

means of doing it. Do not then say, that religion necessarily makes men idle, or busy to no useful purpose.

“Call this, if you please, the talkativeness of age; but, believe it to proceed from a zeal in the best of causes, and sincere good-will to yourselves. For I find that I have, insensibly, got into a direct address, in the form of a *dedication*, rather than that of a *preface*. With this, however, I conclude.

“Farewell, and may we meet, where our present doubts will be removed, and where we shall make more rapid advances in knowledge, without that envy and jealousy from which philosophers are no more exempt than other men, and which, though it has an excellent effect in making men cautious, and even ardent in their pursuits, from a view to the reputation they hope to acquire by their discoveries, too often makes their pursuits the cause of more pain than pleasure to them. Hereafter, we shall, I doubt not, be even more actively employed, and more happy in consequence of it, from better motives.” See “The Doctrine of Phlogiston established, and that of the Composition of Water refuted,” *Northumberland* (1800), *Pref.* pp. vii.—x.

The lines from Petrarch (*supra*, p. 426,) are “what he addressed to the Bishop of Cabassole, when he was at Vauchuse.” *Ibid.* p. vii.

* *Orig.* MS.

† Ardennes près Caen.

‡ *Orig.* MS.

TO REV. T. BELSHAM.*

DEAR SIR,

Northumberland, May 18, 1802.

THOUGH I was in some measure prepared for the account of Mr. Lindsey's seizure,† I was, as you may suppose, exceedingly affected by it, and considering his age and the usual course of those seizures, I shall be in daily expectation of hearing of his death. We ought, however, to be very thankful that he has been preserved so long to us all. I have the greatest reason, as I am more indebted to him than to any other person whatever, and that in more respects than one. Some of my most steady friends are those that he and Mrs. Lindsey procured me. But without any regard to my particular obligations to him, I have always considered him as one of the most excellent of human characters. Dr. Price was another; both equally pious, humble, and disinterested, whose only study it was to do good in every way that was in their power, equally, without vanity, or any regard to self.

I consider it as my greatest happiness and praise to have had the friendship of such men as those. I greatly respect the memory of several other persons with whom, in the course of a various life, I have had the happiness to be acquainted; but those two are in the first class of my worthies. In this, however, I have been thinking of those in the clerical character; but I have had friends and acquaintances of great excellence among the laity, such as Mr. Tayleur, of Shrewsbury, and, above all, Mrs. Rayner. There are many others, especially in the middle ranks of life, who had it not in their power to be great benefactors, as not possessed of wealth, who appeared to me to have shewn the great power of Christian principles in improving the human character. I have also known many respectable unbelievers; but there is no character so truly excellent as the Christian. Of this I have the fullest conviction from my own observation.

Having lost many friends by death, and considering this as nothing more than a suspension of life, I am perhaps less

* Hackney.

† See *Mem. of Lindsey*, p. 433.

affected by that circumstance than many, especially as I must be near the close of life myself, and therefore naturally look forward to the time when I shall find them again. And, as Mr. Lindsey often quoted, (but I do not recollect from whom,) "I hope I shall not be doomed to worse company in another world than such as I have most delighted in here."

I am now reading Dr. Geddes' volume of Remarks, and wonder at many of them.* I shall not choose to mention his name often, except for some truly original and valuable matter; at least such as is ingenious and plausible. I am sorry for the account you give of the state of his health,† as the continuation of his work is certainly very desirable.

P. S. I open my letter to say how happy I have been made by the receipt of your Nos. 2 and 3, giving me so favourable an account of Mr. Lindsey. May a kind Providence preserve him longer to us, and the world! I have not received the letter that you say Mrs. Lindsey has written.

If any thing could tempt me to leave my present situation, it would be your kind invitation to occupy a part of your house, and for the purpose you mention. But I am satisfied that, if I can get a little assistance, the works will be printed here to more advantage than any where else; and at the same time I shall not be under the necessity of abandoning my philosophical pursuits, and, if this be done any more, it will be *final*. My health is something better.‡

TO MRS. LINDSEY.

DEAR MADAM,

Northumberland, May 8, 1802.

I CANNOT express how much I was affected on reading your letter, though I was apprized of the situation of my best friend, by the letters of Mr. Belsham, so that I had no reason to expect any different account. But the few lines he added, with his own hand, quite overcame me; and if I read them, as I shall do, a hundred times, I shall have the same emotions. Such friendship as his and yours has been to me, can never be

* See W. II. 120, *note*.

† Dr. Geddes had died Feb. 26, preceding.

‡ *Orig. MS.*

exceeded, on this side the grave, and, independent of the real emolument, has been a source of such satisfaction to me, as I have not derived from any other quarter.

And yet what I feel is not properly *grief*, for, considering how near we both must be to the close of life, in which we could not promise ourselves much more enjoyment, or be of much more use, what remains cannot, according to the common course of nature, be of much value; and therefore the privation of it is no great loss; and considering how soon we may expect, and I hope without much presumption, to meet again in more favourable circumstances, the causes of joy may almost be allowed to balance those of grief.

If you saw me now, you would not flatter me with the prospect of long surviving my excellent friend. Judging from my illnesses the last year, and my present feelings, I am far from expecting it myself, and, indeed, as it will be the will of God, whatever the event be, and, therefore, no doubt for the best, I cannot say that I greatly wish it. My labours, of whatever kind, and whatever be their value, must be nearly over.

I beg, dear Madam, you would not fail to continue the correspondence of your excellent husband, and write, as you say, on all sorts of subjects. Whatever interests you, will interest me, and I hope Mr. Lindsey, whenever he is able, will add his signature.*

FROM PRESIDENT JEFFERSON.

DEAR SIR,

Washington, June 19, 1802.

YOUR favour of the 12th† has been duly received, and with that pleasure which the approbation of the good and the wise must ever give. The sentiments it expresses are far beyond my merits or pretensions. They are precious testimonies to me, however, that my sincere desire to do what is right and just, is received with candour. That it should be handed to

* *Orig.* MS.

† Inclosing a copy of the Dedication, W. IX. 3.

the world, under the authority of your name, is securing its credit with posterity.

In the great work which has been effected in America, no individual has a right to take any great share to himself. Our people, in a body, are wise, because they are under the unrestrained and unperverted operation of their own understandings. Those whom they have assigned to the direction of their affairs, have stood with a pretty even front. If any one of them was withdrawn, many others, entirely equal, have been ready to fill his place with as good abilities. A nation composed with such materials, and free, in all its members, from distressing wants,* furnishes hopeful implements for the interesting experiment of self-government,† and we feel that we are acting under obligations not confined to the limits of our own society. It is impossible not to be sensible that we are acting for all mankind;‡ that circumstances denied to others,

* A happy result which the President had anticipated from "a wise and frugal government, which shall restrain men from injuring one another, shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits and improvement, and shall not take from labour the bread it has earned." *N. A. Reg.* XXII. (202), (203). See *supra*, p. 256.

The United States appear to have profitably listened to the following early warning from their eloquent advocate :

"Peuples de l'Amérique Septentrionale, que l'exemple de toutes les nations qui vous ont précédés, et sur-tout que celui de la mère-patrie, vous instruisse. Craignez une trop inégale répartition des richesses, qui montre un petit nombre de citoyens opulens, et une multitude de citoyens dans la misère; d'où naît l'insolence des uns, et l'avisement des autres." See "Révolution de l'Amérique. Par M. L'abbé Raynal," (1781,) pp. 181, 182.

† Which to European "idolaters of forms and precedents" has appeared impracticable. Thus Burnet, an exemplary bishop, "the glory of the priesthood and the shame," but a *puny* politician, says, in 1696, to an expectant of the British crown, "we *won't* be governed by one another, and therefore *must* have a sov'raign to rule over us." See "A Memorial to the Princess Sophia, according to the original in the Library at Hanover," (1815,) p. 33; W. XXII. 332, 338; *supra*, p. 332, notes.

‡ Responding to Dr. Priestley, who says, "The eyes of all the civilized, at least of all the Christianized, part of the world, are now upon this country; as being, evidently, in a state of more rapid improvement than any other was ever known to be; and I trust that, eventually, your administration will be a blessing, not to the United States of America only, but to all mankind." See W. IX. 4, 5.

but indulged to us, have imposed on us the duty of proving what is the degree of freedom and self-government in which a society may venture to leave its individual members.

One passage in the paper you inclosed me must be corrected. It is the following: "And all say that it was yourself, more than any other individual, that planned and established the Constitution."* I was in Europe when the Constitution was planned and established, and never saw it till after it was established. On receiving it I wrote strongly to Mr. Madison, urging the want of provision for the freedom of religion, freedom of the press, trial by jury, habeas corpus, the substitution of militia for a standing army, and an express reservation to the States, of all the rights not specifically granted to the Union. He accordingly moved, in the first session of Congress, for these amendments, which were agreed to and ratified by the States as they now stand. This is all the hand I had in what related to the Constitution. Our predecessors made it doubtful how far even these were of any value; for the very law which endangered your personal safety, the Alien Act,† as well as that which restrained the freedom of the press, were gross violations of them. However, it is still certain that, though written constitutions may be violated in moments of passion or delusion, yet they furnish a text to which those who are watchful may again rally and recall the people. They fix, too, for the people, principles for their practical creed.

We shall all absent ourselves from this place during the sickly season, say from the 22nd of July to the last of September. Should your curiosity lead you hither, either before or after that interval, I shall be very happy to receive you, and shall claim you as my guest. I wish the advantages of a mild, over a winter climate, had been tried for you, before you were located where you are. I have ever considered this as a public as well as personal misfortune. The choice you made of

* Altered to, "All say, that besides your great merit, with respect to several articles of the first importance to public liberty, in the instrument itself, you have ever been one of the steadiest friends to the genuine principles and spirit of it." W. IX. 3, 4.

† See *supra*, pp. 454—456.

our country, as your asylum, was honourable to it; and I lament that, for the sake of your happiness and health, its most benign climates were not selected.* Certainly, it is a truth, that climate is one of the sources of the greatest sensual enjoyment.

I received, in due time, the letter referred to in your last, with the pamphlet it inclosed, which I read with the pleasure I do every thing from you. Accept assurances of my highest veneration and respect.†

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.‡

DEAR FRIEND, *Northumberland, June 26, 1802.*

WHETHER it be you or Mrs. Lindsey that is my correspondent, I consider it as the same thing. You are alike my friends, and my best friends, and, whoever survives, this correspondence will not, I hope, cease, on this side the grave, while it is possible to continue it. This great change, to which we are making near approaches, I regard, I hope I may say, with more curiosity than anxiety. It is the wise order of Providence that death should intervene between the two different modes of existence; and what engages my thoughts is, the change itself, more than the mere manner of making it. I look at your portrait, and that of Dr. Price, and Mr. Lee, which are always before me,§ and think of my deceased friends, whose portraits I have not, with peculiar satisfaction, under the idea that I shall, at no great distance, see them again, and, I hope, with pleasure. But, *how* we shall meet again, and how we shall be *employed*, we have little or no ground even for conjecture. It should satisfy us, however, that we shall be at the disposal, and under the government, of the same wise and good Being who has superintended us here, and who best knows what place and employment will best suit all of us.

The more I think of the wonderful system of which we are a part, the less I think of any difficulties about the reality or the circumstances of a future state. The resurrection is, really,

* See *supra*, pp. 435, 436.

† Essex Street.

‡ *Mem. of Lindsey*, p. 443.

§ See *supra*, p. 412.

nothing, compared to the wonders of every day in the regular course of nature; and the only reason why we do not wonder is, because the appearances are common. Whether it be, because I converse less with *men*, in this remote situation, I contemplate the scenes of *nature*, as the production of its great Author, more, and with more satisfaction, than I ever did before; and the new discoveries that are now making in every branch of science, interest me more than ever in this connexion. I see before us a boundless field of the noblest investigation; and all that we yet know appears to me as nothing, compared to what we are wholly ignorant of, and do not, as yet, perceive any means of access to it.

I now take great pleasure in my garden; and plants, as well as other objects, engage more of my attention than they ever did before; and I see these things in a more pleasing light than ever. I wish I knew a little more of botany; but, old as I am, I learn something new continually.

I admire Dr. Darwin's *Phytologia*, and am reading it the second time. But this work, which, I believe, contains all that we yet know of this part of nature, shews me how little that all is. Before he died, I am informed, he was about to publish another work, in which he maintained the doctrine of equivocal generation;* and of all absurdities, this appears to me to be the greatest, if by it they mean to exclude intelligence from the system of nature. And I cannot see any other reason why unbelievers in revelation should lean, as many of them do, to that doctrine. Their faith has certainly less evidence than ours. If we believe that the whale swallowed Jonah, they may believe that Jonah swallowed the whale.

We have now printed one volume of the Church History, and before we come to the third and last, I wish much to see the life of Madame Guyon.† Before the riot, I had it, as published by Mr. Wesley, at Bristol. If it can be procured

* Mr. Priestley mentions, among his father's communications to "the American Philosophical Society," an "answer to Dr. Darwin's Observations on Spontaneous Generation." *Continuation*, 8vo. p. 110, 12mo. p. 190.

† See W. X. 318.

in time, I shall be very glad. I have written a dedication of this second part of my History to Mr. Jefferson. The preface* is the longest I ever wrote. It consists chiefly of reflections on the middle and dark ages. As soon as a copy can be made up, one shall be sent to you.

I have just received yours of March 23. I need not say how happy it makes me.†

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND, Northumberland, July 3, 1802.

How rejoiced I was to receive your letter, *written wholly with your own hand*, after your late alarming attack! I now hope I shall have more of them; and nothing on this side the grave gives me more satisfaction; and yet, considering how soon we may hope to meet again, the separation by death should not give us much concern. While we live, we ought to value life, and friendship, especially Christian friendship, as the balm of it. But we have a better life in prospect, and therefore should not regret the parting with the worse, provided we have enjoyed it properly, and improved it so as to have ensured the better. Absolute confidence does not become any man, conscious, as we all must be, of many imperfections, of omissions, if not of commissions; but surely a general sincere endeavour to do what we apprehend to be our duty, will authorize so much *hope* as may be the reasonable foundation of *joy*, with respect to a future state, without being chargeable with arrogance or presumption.

You could not have made choice of a more pleasing or interesting subject than that of the work which you have happily completed,‡ which, as I believe it is in Philadelphia, I expect soon to receive. It occupies my own thoughts, I may say, almost constantly, and is the greatest source of satisfaction that in my present situation, and under my late trials,§ I enjoy.

* W. IX. 7—20.

† *Orig.* MS.

‡ “Conversations on the Divine Government, shewing that every Thing is from God, and for Good to All.” *Mem. of Lindsey*, pp. 402—431.

§ See *supra*, pp. 407, 451, 469.

Indeed, the reflection that we are under the government of the wisest and best of Beings, and that nothing can befall us without his permission, is sufficient to banish the very idea of *evil*, and to make us regard every thing as a *good*, for which we ought to be thankful. At the moment, none who have the hearts and feelings of men, but must grieve for many things that he sees and feels; but Christian principles soon bring relief, and are capable of converting all sorrow into joy. But this will be in proportion to the strength of our faith, in consequence of the exercise of it, when, according to Hartley, speculative faith is converted into practical.

We have printed one volume of the History, and, as I told you, I have dedicated it to Mr. Jefferson. I inclose his letter* on receiving a manuscript copy of it. I have since altered it, I hope, to his mind, and shall very soon send it, together with the volume. The three volumes, if I do not take a journey in October, will be done about Christmas. I now hope you will see this work, and even the Notes on the Scriptures. I wish you particularly to see the preface and dedication. The latter will not please you, as not calculated for England; but I have done with that country, and am indifferent to what the friends of its government may think of me. I shall always appear as I am, a sincere friend to the country, and shall not with intention say any thing offensive of its constitution, or the administration of it. I rejoice that its situation is much better than I feared such a war would leave it.

My health, I thank God, is better, but still very precarious, and what I ought not to trust to. I am therefore very desirous to get my two works through the press.†

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND, *Northumberland, Aug. 28, 1802.*

I HAVE just been made very happy by the receipt of yours of May 5, together with a box of books from Mr. Johnson. I had a letter from him, informing me that a scheme had been

* *Supra*, p. 482.

† *Orig. MS.*

formed and adopted by him to print my two works, and desiring me to proceed without delay.*

As it may perhaps please the Duke of Grafton to see the copy that I sent you of Mr. Jefferson's last letter to me, I wish you would shew it to him. Such things as these give a better idea of a man's principles and character than more public documents. I shall not be able to visit him as he wishes. Indeed, the state of my health is such as warns me that I have no time to lose, and I am desirous of doing all I can in what remains of life. If well spent, longer or shorter makes no great difference; but mine has been a long life, though not so long as yours. Whenever we die, we shall start together, at the same time, hereafter. May it be in the same place, and our happy connexion be resumed!

Mr. Maseres's third volume† I have not received, though I have the fourth. Please to thank him for me, and, if you please, mention this circumstance. Till I was near forty, when I had an opportunity of making experiments,‡ I applied very much to mathematics, and still I have not lost my liking to them. His works of this kind are original and excellent.

I have this moment received Mrs. Lindsey's letter of May 31, and shall notice the contents the next post. Our post is weekly, and returns in a few hours after it arrives.§

* "What gave my father most real pleasure," says Mr. Priestley, "was the subscription set on foot by his friends in England, to enable him to print his Church History, and his Notes on all the Books of Scripture. The whole was done without his knowledge; and the first information he received on the subject was, that there was a sum raised sufficient to cover the whole expense." *Continuation*, 8vo, pp. 204, 205, 12mo, p. 185.

† See *supra*, p. 473.

‡ See I. 75. "It is well known that the accident of living near a public brewery at Leeds first directed the attention of Dr. Priestley to pneumatic chemistry, by casually presenting to his observation the appearances attending the extinction of lighted chips of wood, in the gas which floats over fermenting liquors."

See "An Estimate of the Philosophical Character of Dr. Priestley, by William Henry, M.D. F.R.S., &c., &c." Read at York (1831), to "the British Association for the Advancement of Science." *First Report*, (1832,) p. 62. On Dr. Priestley's "enlarged views of the scope and objects of Natural Science," see *ibid.* p. 72.

§ *Orig.* MS.

TO REV. T. BELSHAM.*

DEAR SIR,

Northumberland, Sept. 4, 1802.

I INFORMED you what I thought of your valuable Lectures. I hope you will continue to enlighten the world with more of your publications. Now that Mr. Lindsey and myself are going off the stage, you will be looked up to as the principal support of the Unitarian cause; and I am concerned to see, in some late publications, that it requires support, Methodism gaining much ground with you. I cannot, however, think with Dr. Horsley that Unitarianism is on the decline, though it may appear so to him, and the progress may not be so rapid as we are apt to flatter ourselves. He triumphs, I see, in my *flight*, as he calls it.† I have some thoughts of writing a letter on the subject for the Monthly Magazine; but if I do, I will inclose it to you.

I wrote to Mr. Lindsey by the last post, and as I was closing my letter, I received one from Mrs. Lindsey, and promised to write again this day; but I am really too ill to write any more, having but just got out of bed from a fit of the ague. This is the third time that I have had it this summer, and I am much weakened by these attacks. I have had for the last six months a considerable degree of deafness, and on this account I want to see Dr. Walcot's treatise, and I have desired Mr. Jones to send me a hearing-trumpet, such as is described in the Medical and Physical Journal, but I do not expect much relief. I am, however, thankful that my eyes do not fail me.

Your brother rebrobrates *universal representation* and *annual election*, but here they are fundamental principles, and we

* Hackney.

† In "The Charge of Samuel, Lord Bishop of Rochester, at his second general Visitation, 1800." Having denounced "the propagaters of the Socinian heresy" among those "who openly disown the Son of God," the bishop thus proceeds (*risum teneatis, amici?*):

"The advocates for that blasphemy have preached themselves out of all credit with the people. The patriarch of the sect is fled, and the orators and oracles of Birmingham and Essex Street are dumb; or if they speak, speak only to be disregarded." *N. A. Reg.* XXI. [427].

imagine we derive great advantage from them. If he saw how well we go on here on maxims the reverse of his, or of any thing that takes place in England,* I think he would probably change his opinion. However, the change might be hazardous with you.†

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.‡

DEAR FRIEND,

Northumberland, Sept. 25, 1802.

I CANNOT help being anxious about the state of your health, as you kindly are about mine. It would be extreme folly for either of us to flatter ourselves with the prospect of many years to come, nor, at our time of life, is it in general desirable. Before this time, the business of life, whatever it has been, must be over, and nothing can remain but retrospect; and with respect to neither of us, I trust, is this very painful; though no man ever lived who might not have done more good in the world (and for that end we come into it) than he actually did.

Of late, but not more than a fortnight, I have had a better prospect of health than I have had for a considerable time. I now hope that with care I may see through the printing of both my works, and I have hardly a wish to live longer, especially as I shall not be capable of undertaking any thing more of much importance.

I am much affected at Mrs. Lindsey's account of the generous assistance given by the Duke of Grafton and Mr. Maseres, and especially Mr. Chambers. I desire you would express to all of them, and any others, how sensible I am of it. I understand also that I am under particular obligations to Dr. Disney for his exertions in this affair, and I intend to acknowledge it in a letter to him soon.

I have some thoughts, if I continue well, to visit Philadelphia for a few weeks, in company with my son and daughter, some time this winter, perhaps in the interval between the printing of the two works.

I shall be glad to hear from Mr. Morgan.§

* See *supra*, pp. 260, 332, *notes*.

‡ Essex Street.

† *Orig. MS.*

§ *Orig. MS.*

TO MRS. LINDSEY.*

DEAR MADAM,

Oct. 16, 1802.

WHAT do I not owe to you and Mr. Lindsey, and, at present, more particularly to yourself! Without your active assistance, I find that the works I have now in hand would hardly have been printed in my life-time, unless I should live longer than I see any reason to expect.

Dr. Doddridge used to say he was confident there would be more women in heaven than men, and certainly you excel in the milder, and what are more peculiarly called the Christian, virtues of patience, meekness, sympathy, and kindness; and I think that the history of persecutions proves you have your full share of the more heroic virtues, and have shewn as much true courage as men. When I reflect, as I often do, on the character of my good aunt,† that of Mrs. Rayner, and to those let me add, yours, I do not think I can find many of my acquaintance to compare with them among men, and yet I have known many of great excellence. Of these, the foremost on my list are Dr. Price, Mr. Tayleur, of Shrewsbury, and Mr. Lindsey. Those in a lower class, however, are numerous; and I doubt not but hereafter we shall find there has always been more virtue than vice in the world, and that the vice has had its use in producing virtue.

The more I contemplate the great system, the more satisfaction I find in it; and the *structure* being so perfect, there cannot be a doubt but that the *end* and *use* of it, in promoting happiness, will correspond to it. These views, as I take more pleasure than ever in natural history, contribute much to brighten the evening of my days. But my great resource is the Scripture, which I have not, of a long time, passed a single day without reading a portion of, and I am more interested in it continually. I seem now to see it with other eyes, and all other reading is comparatively insipid.

But I shall tire you with my moralizing. You are very kind to interest yourself about my health. On this day se'n-night I wrote to Dr. Disney, and told him I was much re-

* Essex Street.

† See I. 7.

cruited; but this week I have relapsed again, but without fever. The least thing disorders my power of digestion; and when I have any thing amiss there, it is a long time before I get right again. My flesh and muscular strength are greatly impaired. I hope, however, that with care, I may live to print the two works, and then my mind will be entirely at ease. Whatever may be thought of them, I have spared no pains to make them as perfect as I could, and both the works are of a kind that I am sure are much wanted.

I no more expect *fame* than I do *profit* from either of these works; but neither of *them* are any object with me at present. I have had enough of every thing that this world can give me, and consider my lot as having been a singularly happy one; but I flatter myself that my writings, which are overlooked at present, will be found useful some time hence.

Mr. Lindsey's last work I read with peculiar satisfaction. It is excellently adapted to gain its object, and discovers a happy and most desirable state of mind with which to take leave of the world, praising the great and benevolent Author of it, and looking forward to the same excellent disposition of things hereafter.

Give my best respects to the ladies at Morden.* I shall never forget their excellent characters, or their kindness to myself. Remember me also to Dr. Blackburne. I often wish I was under his care.

P. S. Mr. Morgan's letter is come safe. I shall write to him by the next post. I rejoice to hear that both Mr. G. Walker and Dr. Parr are made easy with respect to pecuniary matters.†

* See *supra*, p. 451. Mr. Belsham, having related the decease, in 1777, of Mr. Lindsey's early and intimate friend, the pious and benevolent rector of Achurch, (see I. 131, note ¶,) says,

"Dr. Chambers had a near relation, a merchant in London, who had a house at Morden, in Surry, where he lived with two sisters, of uncommon intellectual attainments, and whose characters were most exemplary. In this family Mr. and Mrs. Lindsey were accustomed to pass the greater part of the summer; and to these ladies Mr. Lindsey dedicated his last work, '*Considerations on the Divine Government.*'" *Mem. of Lindsey*, pp. 86, 402.

† *Orig. MS.*

TO MR. WILLIAM MORGAN.*

DEAR SIR,

Northumberland, Oct. 23, 1802.

I THANK you for your kind letter, and though it was directed to Virginia, some postmaster, I suppose, in this country had changed that word for Pennsylvania, and it came safe.

Though my philosophical labours are nearly over, I am glad to hear what is passing in that region in which I once moved, though what I then did seems for the present to be overlooked and forgotten. I am confident, however, as much as I can be of any thing, that notwithstanding the almost universal reception of the new theory, which is the cause of it, it is purely chimerical, and cannot keep its ground after a sufficient scrutiny, which may be deferred, but which must take place in time. I am glad to find that Mr. Cruikshank in England, as well as the chemists in France, begin to attend to my objections, though the principal of them have been published many years; but, as you say, many will not read, and therefore cannot know any thing that makes against the opinions they have once adopted. Bigotry is not confined to theology. It seems to be as conspicuous among philosophers, who disclaim every thing of the kind. We see that envy, jealousy, and every bad passion, may be excited by any thing that is interesting to us, even in the *belles lettres*. Pope and Swift, and too many others of that class, had as much pride and malevolence as any divines.

Your experiment on inflammable air is curious; but our opponents will say, that though water be decomposed in order to form it, it will at the same time take up more water undecomposed, and hold it in solution; though, when condensed, it must part with some of it; the quantity of the water thus held being in proportion to its dimensions.

Mr. Cruikshank, I find, promised an answer to my reply to him, and I suppose it has been published in Nicholson's

* London. See I. 88, note *.

Journal some time, but I have not yet seen it. In this respect I work and write to great disadvantage. It is much to be wished that some able advocate for the old doctrine might arise in England or France. They would engage more attention than any person situated as I am. Some time ago I sent Mr. Phillips, for his Magazine,* a general answer to all the objections that I had heard of to the argument attacked by Mr. Cruikshank; and it appears to me that of three principles on which that argument has been assailed, that adopted by him is the most unfortunate, directly militating against the system that he endeavours to support.

You surprise me with your account of the effect of the new apparatus for the Galvanic experiment. I have the very apparatus you describe, and have not been able to make it answer so well as the old one, and I find it exceedingly difficult to make so many cells quite separate by means of cement. Your account, however, encourages me to try again.

I thank you for your hints of politics. How different is our situation from yours! Our debt is trifling, and will to appearance soon be discharged,† though almost all our taxes are done away. Our particular state has a fund, out of which all the expenses of government are defrayed; so that we hear of nothing but county taxes for the repair of roads, &c. We in this place have only been called upon to pay a poor's rate, and in both cases on account of single insane persons, and we hardly ever see a beggar,‡ except for accidental fires, &c., and these are soon relieved, every body contributing with great cheerfulness. There being no church establishment, we have no tithe, or any expenses beside voluntary ones, on account of

* See *Mon. Mag.* (1799) VII. 261, 353; (1800) IX. 469; (1802) XIV. 2.

† See *supra*, p. 260, *note*. The President, in his late message (1832) to the Congress, declared the public debt to be entirely discharged. Another important difference the *Times* has thus remarked:

“The United States are far *better* served than England, in the average of their negotiations with foreign states; yet the whole expense of their foreign department does not much exceed that of one of our embassies to one of the principal continental courts.” *Examiner*, No. 1270, p. 355.

‡ See *supra*, p. 256.

religion, and yet there is full as much attention given to it as with you.* I do not think that any country in the world was ever in a state of greater improvement, in all respects, or had fairer prospects, than this has at present. It is a great pleasure to look round and see this: and yet we have many grumblers and discontented persons.

I rejoice to hear of the good state of your family, and hope that this will continue a source of happiness to you, when you cannot derive any from the state of public affairs; for which, however, we cannot but have a feeling. I have, though at this distance, and am a sincere well-wisher to Old England. All the friends of liberty must have been disappointed with respect to France. But, perhaps, a state of less political liberty may suit that nation. If they do not complain, why should we? though it is unpleasant to see public liberty make a retrograde motion in any part of the world.†

TO REV. T. BELSHAM.‡

DEAR SIR,

Northumberland, Oct. 30, 1802.

I THANK you for procuring me the account of the *Child of Hale*,§ and have given an abstract of it in my Notes on the passage relating to Goliath. I wish we had authentic accounts of the longevity of particular persons. Not that there is any reasonable objection to the Scripture account of the long lives of the patriarchs,|| but it would take something from the cavils of unbelievers, shewing, that even within the course of nature, there are occasionally considerable deviations from what is common. There lately died in Philadelphia a woman, from whose

* "In the United States," says Joel Barlow, "there is, strictly speaking, "no such thing as a Church; and yet in no country are the people more religious. All sorts of religious opinions are entertained there, and yet no *heresy* among them all. All modes of worship are practised, and yet there is no *schism*. Men frequently change their creed and their worship, and yet there is no *apostacy*. They have ministers of religion, but no *priests*. In short, religion is there a *personal*, and not a *corporate* concern." See "Advice to the Privileged Orders," (1792,) p. 49, *note*.

† *Orig.* MS.

‡ Hackney.

§ See *supra*, p. 449.

|| See W. XI 53.

account of herself and the testimony of others, I have no doubt of her having been more than one hundred and fifty. She was brought by the Buccaneers, after she had several children, and remembered the first coming of William Penn to Philadelphia, and the first house that was built in the place.* Women of fourscore said she was an old woman when they were young. She was an odd character, lived by herself in a miserable hole of a place, but would not receive any thing as charity. She sold fruit and herbs in the public market when I was at Philadelphia last. I went to see her several times, on the pretence of buying some of her herbs.

I hope you have received the copy I sent of Mr. Jefferson's letter. I fear the Dedication will not suit England, but you may do what you please with it.† Few besides our friends, and the friends of liberty, will see it, and to myself the consequence is nothing.‡

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.§

DEAR FRIEND, *Northumberland, Dec. 11, 1802.*

I AM NOW putting the last hand to the Notes on the Scriptures, many of which, I am sure, you will like, as they are particularly calculated to point out the evidence and the value of revelation, especially that of the Old Testament, which is most objected to by unbelievers, and has been strangely given up by some Christians like Dr. Geddes.|| But this shews great ignorance of the state of things in early times, and gross inattention to the circumstances of the revelation, and of the people to whom it was made. That Moses should either have himself invented his institutions, or have imposed them on his nation, is, on many accounts, absolutely incredible.

Pray what has Dr. Geddes left, of his Translations or Re-

* In 1682. *Amer. Ann.* I. 384—386.

† “Being of a political and local nature,” says Mr. Belsham, “it was not thought advisable to prefix it to those copies which were sent to England. The author of this Memoir, therefore, has had no opportunity of seeing it.” *Mem of Lindsey*, p. 442. I was more fortunate. See W. IX. 5, *note* *.

‡ *Orig.* MS.

§ Essex Street.

|| See his distinction between Moses and Christ, W. II. 120, *note*.

marks, unpublished? I find his work very useful, notwithstanding this capital objection to it. I have, however, in general, obviated his objections without mentioning his name. Indeed, I had done it before I saw his work.

I wish, if my life be spared, to print a volume of theological tracts, chiefly those in the Repository, with additions and improvements, and also one of philosophy.

I am much obliged to you for Mr. Wywill's publication, and think myself greatly flattered by his note respecting me.* But I have now given over all thoughts of visiting Europe. No serious good would be answered by it, and the satisfaction, from seeing the very few for whom I feel an attachment, would be transient. Our meeting, I hope, in more favourable circumstances than any in this world, cannot be far distant.

P. S. I thank you for Mr. Cappe's two volumes; but have not yet had time to look into them.†

TO REV. T. BELSHAM.‡

DEAR SIR,

Northumberland, Dec. 18, 1802.

THE last post I received your Nos. 8 and 10, and yesterday, by a private hand, No. 5. After so considerable a communication, I fear I must, at this season of the year, be a long time without any; and it may be a long time after its date that you will receive this.

The last winter was peculiarly mild, and our rivers never shut up; but this is likely to be a pretty severe one. Our river is closed already, which it has not been, of the four preceding years. The night before last, the thermometer was —1. This is a degree of cold seldom known in England, but is often much exceeded here. I have known it—13, but the air is so dry, that we do not complain of it. Whether it be owing to the cold, or something else, I am much better in health than I have been, of a long time. Indeed, at present, I seem to be as well in all respects as I ever was; and I have

* Anticipating Dr. Priestley's return. See I. 357, *note*.

† *Orig.* MS.

‡ Hackney.

great reason to be thankful that I have, generally, enjoyed as good a state of health as most men, so as hardly ever to have been incapacitated for my pursuits of any kind.

I received your Thanksgiving Sermon, and I like it much. I am pleased with its moderation, and think with you, that we ought to be satisfied and thankful when there has been so great a change for the better as has unquestionably taken place, as you have very well shewn. I think, too, that as Christians we should be less violent politicians, having our minds chiefly occupied with better things; though we should not forget that we are citizens of this world as well as of another.

Our affairs here seem to be in an excellent train; I wish your prospects were as good. If your brother were here, he would, I am persuaded, think better than he does of the fundamental principles of our government; though he reprobates them with respect to England.* In the Jerseys, not only do all the *men*, but *women* who are householders, have votes, in all elections of magistrates.

As to *Buonaparte*, I imagine my opinion does not now differ from yours. He will have a check at St. Domingo. According to present appearances, the French will hardly recover the possession of that island.

I am pleased with your approbation of my small tract on Baptism.† What will Dr. Toulmin say to it?‡

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.§

DEAR FRIEND,

Northumberland, Jan. 1, 1803.

THE last that I received from you and Mrs. Lindsey came to hand Oct. 9, so that I cannot help being a little anxious to hear from you again; but patience is well exercised in this country to those who have any connexions with Europe; and, long as I have been here, my attachments are chiefly to England, and are not likely to change.

* See *supra*, pp. 491, 492.

† “A Letter to an Antipædobaptist.” W. XX. 465.

‡ *Orig. MS.*

§ Essex Street.

I think, however, as well of this country as of any in the world; especially since the election of Mr. Jefferson, whose administration is, indeed, excellent, highly favourable to the peace and happiness of the country in all respects. You will see by his message to Congress, that, though all the internal taxes are abolished, a great proportion of the national debt was discharged the last year,* and we have no war except with Tripoli, which does not give us much uneasiness.

I have lately had another kind letter from Mr. Jefferson. He urges me again to pay him a visit; but the distance is too great, and travelling too incommodious, for a person of my age and state of health. In the last two months I have recruited much, and now am very well *within doors*, and capable of attending to my usual pursuits, though I have been less in my laboratory than formerly; but I dread a long journey.

I am exceedingly pleased and edified with the *Life of Mr. Cappe*. He was truly pious. I do not expect to receive the same satisfaction from the tracts;† but in this I may be agreeably disappointed. I am reading Xenophon's *Memorabilia* [of Socrates], with a view to a comparison of his life and teaching with those of Christ.‡

TO REV T BELSHAM.§

DEAR SIR,

Northumberland, Jan. 22, 1803.

I HAVE just received your No. 9, but not the sermon,|| which I am particularly eager to see, on account of my former relation to the place in which it was delivered, and my history being so much connected with the destruction of it. I should, however, have received it near a fortnight ago but for an instance of bigotry which you will think to be hardly credible.

Mr. J. Vaughan would have given it to the care of a wag-

* See *supra*, p. 496.

† See I. 80, note ¶.

‡ *Orig. MS.*

§ Hackney.

|| "The Right and Duty of Unitarian Christians to form separate Societies for Religious Worship, preached at Birmingham, July 22, 1802, at the Opening of the New Meeting-house, in the room of that in which Dr. Priestley formerly officiated, and which was destroyed in the Riot, July 14, 1791."

goner who lives to the north of this place, and who goes through it; but when he saw it was for *me*, nothing could prevail upon him to take it. He said he would not take it for twenty dollars. However, I am not so ill thought of in this place or the neighbourhood, and I believe the parcel is now in a waggon at Sunbury; but the river is so full of floating ice, that it has not been passable for several days.

I have just heard that a boat is gone over the river to fetch five waggons that are on the other side. But they often make unsuccessful attempts of this kind. One branch of our river is shut up with ice, and the other at some distance from us. This is a thing of which you have little experience in England. The breaking up of the ice after a frost is a spectacle truly sublime, but it is sometimes the cause of much mischief. I have seen the whole river full of floating trees, which had been torn from the banks. This has continued some days, one of the branches being navigable 300 miles above this place, and the other about 150. But this is only in the spring, and sometimes in the autumn. In the summer it is so low that children walk through it. The bottom is a solid rock. The river, the neighbouring hills, and the general face of the country, give us finer prospects in this place than I have ever seen elsewhere. The boasted prospects on the Rhine, which I have seen,* are not equal to these. I want nothing here but such society as yours and Mr. Lindsey's.†

* In 1774, on a tour with Lord Shelburne. See I. 246—248.

† See *supra*, p. 426. An English traveller, apparently unpossessed “by the spirit of democracy,” while lately visiting these scenes, appeared to “want nothing” to complete *his* delight, except to behold the fascinating appendages of Church and King. Yet the American peasant, earning instead of begging or enforcing a subsistence, (the too frequent wretched alternative of British and Irish unproductive industry,) may well be satisfied to discover a church, wherever he can find a fellow-worshiper, even in the lowly cottage, or under heaven's broad canopy, while, in the beauteous landscape, he

Sees no contiguous palace rear its head

To scorn the meanness of his humble shed.

“I see before me,” says Mr. G. T. Vigne, “a noble river winding its way through an exquisite landscape of hill and dale and wood and verdure

I thank you for the hint about the evidence of my last sentiments. I do not, however, think that any thing more can be necessary for this purpose than the publication of the works now in the press. I can, however, introduce something of the kind into my *Memoirs*, which you kindly wished me to continue. I have done it to 1795,* when I was fully settled in this place, and if I live to complete what I am now printing, I shall make another addition to it.†

Your excellent sermon is arrived. It is admirably adapted to the occasion; the sentiments every where just and well expressed. If it be read by the most bigoted, it must make a favourable impression. What you say of myself, I read with many tears. To be so remembered and thought of, by you and such as you, is more than a recompence for all my sufferings. I hope that the congregation, which I shall always think of with affection and gratitude, will now be well settled again. Your prayer for Mr. Edwards‡ must affect him. I wish much to hear what becomes of him. He is an extraordinary man. I wish it were possible to fix him in Philadelphia. My son and daughter go thither the next week, but I fear that my health will not permit me to accompany them.§

TO MR. RUSSELL. ||

DEAR SIR,

Philadelphia, Feb. 16, 1803.

YOUR very welcome letter, dated Paris, Aug. 26, I received a few weeks ago, and am happy to find that there is now an opportunity of sending an answer to France by a vessel bound to Havre.

abounding in every resource that could make a country life agreeable; but where is the marble-fronted hall, and the village church beside it, with its spire pointing to the heavens? The powerless genius of embellishment wanders disconsolate along the beautiful banks of the Susquehannah, and bitterly complains that he is fettered by the spirit of democracy." See "Six Months in America," *Examiner*, No. 1265, p. 275. See *supra*, p. 497.

* See *supra*, p. 240.

† See *supra*, p. 299.

‡ See I. 191, note †, where I have incorrectly named Mr. Edwards as Dr. Priestley's *colleague*, instead of his successor.

§ *Orig.* MS.

|| Paris, forwarded to "Care of James Skey, Esq., Upton on Severn."

I rejoice to hear that you have the means and the spirit to do what you do, both with respect to the translation and publication of my writings, and the opening of the Protestant Church at Caen; when, as I hear, no other person has had the Christian zeal to do so much in any part of France, at least in the northern provinces, though the Protestants are pretty numerous there. That there should be so much lukewarmness in such a cause, is a subject of much regret. The Catholics seem to have the interest of religion much more at heart; and, in time, I doubt not, more rational opinions, accompanied with a due degree of zeal, will succeed; but more time than we are willing to allow may be necessary for so great a purpose; and our endeavours to promote truth and right will not be lost, though the effect be not apparent at present.

While the war continued, I flattered myself that, on the return of peace, I should pay a visit to my friends in Europe before I died; but in this, as in the hope I conceived of never parting from you, after I saw you in America, I have been disappointed; but all, I doubt not, for the best. I have no expectation, or indeed any wish, to see Europe; and shall, contentedly and thankfully, await my dissolution on this side of the Atlantic.* The next month I shall be 70 complete,

* On this subject Mr. Russell had thus written to Mr. Belsham, "Aug. 1802," in the letter quoted *supra*, p. 474:

"I have never yet met with any one acquainted with the subject, who has not assured me, that, although the public creed of the Church is according to the doctrine of Luther and Calvin, yet the ministers, in general, are Socinian, so that I regard the new set of articles as perfectly inadequate to the purpose intended, independent of the insuperable objection to them, as subjecting religion to the controul of the state, and appointing the civil authority to preside and judge in matters of conscience.

"The whole business shews the extreme ignorance and apathy of all concerned in it, and makes me very frequently lament, that any circumstances whatever should have prevented our excellent friend, on the other side the Atlantic, from coming with me here, as was his intention. He would have had the ear of the government, and his superior talents must have given the whole business a very different complexion. However, as it is, I doubt not but all is working right, and that we shall soon see many favourable symptoms, but it will require a long time to mature them." *Orig. MS.* See *supra*, p. 460, note *.

and with this *age of man*, I ought to be, and I am, satisfied. I hope I have not lived in vain. Most of my friends are gone before me, and others cannot be long after me. How thankful ought we to be for the glorious assurance that the gospel gives of the meeting of all the virtuous and good in a better state ! Let us cherish that hope, and rejoice in the prospect it holds out to us.

I am here with my son and daughter-in-law, who join in respects to you and your son.*

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.†

DEAR FRIEND, *Philadelphia, March 1, 1803.*

BY the persuasion of my son and his wife, who were going to Philadelphia, and being unwilling to be left alone, I came hither, and I am well pleased, on several accounts, that I have come. The journey, which I thought I should hardly have been able to bear, has, itself, been of great service to me. I think I have recovered the health I had before my fever. For this I am very thankful ; and I consider it as a call to that exertion of which I am now more capable.

A great improvement in my hearing came pretty suddenly yesterday, while I was attending the service in the Swedish church, in consequence of happening to sit where my worst ear felt the warmth of a stove. For, before the service was over, I could, with that ear, when the other was stopped, hear the tunes that were sung, which I could not do at all before. The service, on that day, was in the Swedish language ; but every other Sunday in the month it is in English. This I had not been apprized of.

The principal Swedish minister, Dr. Colin, is an excellent man, and a complete Unitarian. He observed, in our conversation, that the doctrine of atonement had done great mischief to the cause of Christianity, and he laid great stress on all prayer being addressed to the One God and Father of all. The Sunday before I had heard in his pulpit a very orthodox mi-

* *Orig. MS.*

† *Essex Street.*

nister, who officiates occasionally when the principal is employed in a distant part of his parish. But he said that, for himself, though he used the Common Prayer-book of the Church of England, he took only what he liked, and made what alterations he pleased; and in the pulpit used his own prayers. He has a great degree of knowledge of natural philosophy as well as theology. To-day I am to dine with him, along with Dr. Andrews,* a clergyman and professor of morals, &c., in the University, but an avowed Unitarian; and notwithstanding the bigotry of the generality, Unitarianism and rational Christianity are silently gaining ground in this country.

I am hardly able to speak loud enough for a large audience, or I am persuaded I should now have many hearers in this place. Last night I preached to a very crowded room, and the next Lord's-day I am to administer the Lord's Supper in another house, where some Unitarians regularly meet every Sunday morning. They are the remains of the society of lay-unitarians, and I am not without hopes that it may revive. But I see that a professed minister would be more useful, as making the cause more respectable, by giving it a head. I was not so fully sensible of this before.

While I have been here, I have printed a pamphlet, entitled *Socrates and Jesus compared*, and I dedicate it to Dr. Toulmin,† who had written on the same subject.‡ If I do not greatly flatter myself, you and Mr. Belsham will like it, though you may not agree with me in every thing. The comparison of these two men throws great light on the evidence of Christianity, and tends to make us sensible of the great value of it.

As soon as my Church History is out of the press, at Northumberland, I shall begin to print the Notes on the Scriptures, and hope to finish them in about a year, perhaps less. Though I now look to very little in this world, I shall be thankful if you live to see this work. But my prospects, as well as yours, must now be directed to another state, in which I hope we

* See *supra*, pp. 342, 453.

† See W. XVII. 400.

‡ In 1785, "on the Character of Christ, compared with that of some other Founders of Religion and Philosophy." See M. R. X. 672.

may look back with satisfaction on what we have done, or attempted to do in this.*

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND, *Philadelphia, March 5, 1803.*

PRESENTLY after I had written my last, I was made happy by the receipt of yours of Dec. 7, written almost wholly with your own hand. This gives me hope that you may be continued to us longer than I had lately presumed to think; and for this I shall be very thankful, though, our times being in the hand of God, we have reason to be satisfied and thankful, whatever events take place. But till any event actually take place, we are, no doubt, authorized to indulge our hopes and fears according to our limited views, though with less anxiety than is natural to those who have no respect to a Providence.

We stay a week longer in this place; but I now wish to be at home. Little improvements always occur in the course of printing,† which only the author can see or make.‡

TO REV. T. BELSHAM.§

DEAR SIR, *Northumberland, April 2, 1803.*

I AM now returned from Philadelphia, and though I had a long relapse into a state of very indifferent health, after I informed Mr. Lindsey that I was perfectly recovered, I am again much better than I lately expected I ever should be.

In the first part of the Notes on the Scriptures, one of my principal objects is to vindicate the divine origin of the laws of Moses; and I think to close the whole with a Dissertation, in which I have brought into one view all the principal arguments. This I wrote in my late journey, and have transcribed it since my return.||

I cannot help being anxious to hear frequently of Mr. Lindsey's health. His life is valuable to the last.¶

* *Orig.* MS.

† Yet see Dr. Priestley's *general* rule, *supra*, p. 448, *note*.

‡ *Orig.* MS.

|| See W. XI. 15.

§ Hackney.

¶ *Orig.* MS.

FROM PRESIDENT JEFFERSON.

DEAR SIR,

Washington, April 9, 1803.

WHILE on a short visit lately to Monticello, I received from you a copy of your *Comparative View of Socrates and Jesus*, and I avail myself of the first moment of leisure, after my return, to acknowledge the pleasure I had in the perusal, and the desire it excited to see you take up the subject on a more extensive scale.

In consequence of some conversations with Dr. Rush, in the years 1798-99, I had promised some day to write him a letter, giving him my view of the Christian system.* I have reflected often on it since, and even sketched the outlines in my own mind. I should first take a general view of the moral doctrines of the most remarkable of the ancient philosophers, of whose ethics we have sufficient information to make an estimate: say of Pythagoras, Epicurus, Epictetus, Socrates, Cicero, Seneca, Antoninus. I should do justice to the branches of morality they have treated well, but point out the importance of those in which they are deficient. I should then take a view of the deism and ethics of the Jews, and shew in what a degraded state they were, and the necessity they presented of a reformation. I should proceed to a view of the life, character, and doctrines of Jesus, who, sensible of the incorrectness of their ideas of the Deity and of morality, endeavoured to bring them to the principles of a pure deism, and juster notions of the attributes of God, to reform their moral doctrines to the standard of reason, justice, and philanthropy, and to inculcate the

* See the President's letters to Dr. Rush, from "Monticello, Sep. 23, 1800," and from "Washington, April 21, 1803." In the latter he says, "In the moment of my late departure from Monticello, I received from Dr. Priestley his little treatise of 'Socrates and Jesus compared.' This being a section of the general view I had taken of the field, it became a subject of reflection while on the road and unoccupied otherwise. The result was, to arrange in my mind a *syllabus*, or outline of such an estimate of the comparative merits of Christianity as I wished to see executed by some one of more leisure and information for the task."—*Mem. and Cor. &c.* III. 449, 514.

belief of a future state. This view would purposely omit the question of his divinity and even of his inspiration.

To do him justice, it would be necessary to remark the disadvantages his doctrines have to encounter, not having been committed to writing by himself, but by the most unlettered of men, by memory long after they had heard them from him, when much was forgotten, much misunderstood, and presented in very paradoxical shapes. Yet such are the fragments remaining as to shew a master-workman, and that his system of morality was the most benevolent and sublime, probably, that has been ever taught, and more perfect than those of any of the ancient philosophers. His character and doctrines have received still greater injury from those who pretend to be his special disciples, and who have disfigured and sophisticated his actions and precepts from views of personal interest, so as to induce the unthinking part of mankind to throw off the whole system in disgust, and to pass sentence, as an impostor, on the most innocent, the most benevolent, the most eloquent and sublime character that ever has been exhibited to man.*

This is the outline; but I have not the time and still less the information which the subject needs. It will therefore rest with me in contemplation only. You are the person who, of all others, would do it best, and most promptly. You have all the materials at hand, and you put together with ease. I wish you could be induced to extend your late work to the whole subject.

I have not heard particularly what is the state of your health, but as it has been equal to the journey to Philadelphia, perhaps it might encourage the curiosity you must feel to see for once this place, which nature has formed on a beautiful scale, and circumstances destine for a great one. As yet, we are but a cluster of villages.† We cannot offer you the learned society of Philadelphia, but you will have that of a few characters whom you esteem, and a bed and hearty welcome with one who will rejoice in every opportunity of testifying to you his high veneration and affectionate attachment.‡

* See *Mem and Cor.* &c. III. 516.

† See *supra*, p. 452, note *.

‡ MS. copy to Mr. Lindsey, "April 23."

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.*

DEAR FRIEND, *Northumberland, April 15, 1803.*

I AM happy to hear by Mr. Belsham, that your health is still good; and as his letter is dated the 1st of February, I hope you have got well over the winter. There is hardly any thing that I wish for, or think of more, than the continuance of your life and health, that you may see the last of my labours, and I may hear your opinion of them.

As to philosophy, I do not now give much attention to it, though I do not wholly neglect it. With the good Dr. Heberden, Sir John Pringle, and many others, who, in early life, engaged in philosophical pursuits, but were real Christians, I think it natural, as we draw nearer to a future and better world, to think more of it, and to have our reading and pursuits directed more than ever towards it.

For the same reason, I think more of my departed friends, as my good aunt, Mrs. Rayner, Dr. Price, Dr. Jebb, and others, who have been my chief friends and benefactors, than before; forming conjectures (wild ones, no doubt) concerning our meeting and employment hereafter. Such speculations as these have, at least, the effect to make the thoughts of leaving the world, and our friends in it, less unpleasant; indeed, sometimes almost desirable. If the disciples of Jesus rejoiced so much at his resurrection, what will they do at his second coming, in his proper kingdom, and when all their friends will rise again, never to be separated any more? And the firm faith that you and I have, that even the wicked, after a state of wholesome discipline, (and that not more severe than will be necessary,) will be raised in due time to a state of happiness, greatly diminishes our concern on their account.†

Such reflections as these occur to me more particularly when I am not well, and my thoughts are less occupied with my pursuits. But though I had a pretty long relapse of bad health after my last to you, when I thought myself quite well,

* Essex Street.

† This passage I had occasion to quote, W. II. 64, *note*.

and to have recovered my usual good state of health, I am now again, I thank God, pretty well, and nearly as busy as formerly.

I have received a letter from Mr. Jefferson on the subject of my pamphlet about Socrates, which I will copy, and send it you the next post. I wish I could send you all his letters; but they are rather too long to copy, and a specimen or two may be sufficient.*

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND, *Northumberland, April 23, 1803.*

IN my last, I promised to send you a copy of Mr. Jefferson's letter, on reading my pamphlet, entitled, "Socrates and Jesus compared." The above† is that copy. He is generally considered as an unbeliever. If so, however, he cannot be far from us, and I hope in the way to be not only *almost* but *altogether* what we are. He now attends public worship very regularly, and his moral conduct was never impeached.‡ I should on several accounts be glad to make the visit he proposes, but my business will not admit of it.

I am at present employed in composing an Alphabetical Index to the Bible, a work that I have often wanted myself, and I know of nothing of the kind besides Pilkington's rational Concordance, which is a very imperfect work. I have often wondered that when there is such a demand for Concordances, so little has been done in this way. If a particular *text* be wanted, and a principal word in it be recollected, a Concordance will answer the purpose, but not when a *subject* is wanted, and no particular word recollected, as in the prophetic and historical articles, as well as many others.

* *Orig. MS.*

† *Supra*, p. 508.

‡ Dr. Priestley's opinion is obviously founded on the sentiments expressed by the President, confirmed by his public and private deportment. Yet "he cannot be far from us," when separated from these considerations, was an expression too well adapted to serve an insidious purpose, to have escaped the handling of polemics, skilled to misrepresent, if not to calumniate, rather than to draw fair conclusions from correct premises.

Dr. Hutton has very lately exposed and confuted a gross perversion of Dr. Priestley's language on this subject. See "Unitarian Christianity Vindicated," p. 143.

We are printing the index to the fourth volume of the Church History, and in this we proceed very slowly. I hope we shall do better when we begin the Notes on the Scriptures.*

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND,

Northumberland, June 4, 1803.

I HAVE been made very happy by the receipt of yours of Jan. 16, written almost wholly with your own hand, though closed by Mrs. Lindsey, on account of your suffering by the influenza, which seems to have been almost universal with you. Here, too, we have had a great deal of sickness, more than any person remembers in any former time.

This day fortnight I got a dangerous fall on my left hip, with a strain of the muscles of that thigh, in consequence of which I have been very lame, and obliged to use crutches. Now, however, I can walk with a stick, though with pain. I have no fear but I shall get gradually better, though I shall probably never recover the perfect use of the left thigh. In other respects I am better than I have been for a long time, and do as much of such work that I am capable of, as ever, for which I am very thankful. I cannot indeed at present do any thing in my laboratory, but this I could not expect to do much longer.

Having finished my Notes on the Scriptures, I have now nearly completed an alphabetical index to them. It has been a very laborious work. I first made the index from the Bible as I would for any other book, and then added whatever I thought valuable from Pilkington,† which is very valuable in several respects, but exceedingly defective in others.

My pamphlet entitled "Socrates and Jesus compared," has been answered by a Mr. Linn, pastor of the first Presbyterian church in Philadelphia, a young man of considerable ability, in which he has introduced the doctrines of the divinity of Christ and the atonement. I have just printed a reply to him,‡ by which I hope to procure a public discussion of those subjects, which is much wanted here. He has, from his ignorance

* *Orig.* MS. † "Rational Concordance, 1749," See W. XXV. 196.

‡ W. XXI. 188. Dr. Linn died, 1804, aged 26.

of the subjects, given me all the advantage that I could wish. His letter is very respectful to me, and mine is as much so to him, so that I hope the controversy will be conducted in the best manner.

I close my Notes on the Pentateuch with a dissertation,* in which I shew, in about twenty different articles, the impossibility of Moses having derived any of his institutions from Egypt, or any other nation, or from any superior wisdom of his own. Of this I mean to print some copies as a pamphlet,† which I hope will be of some use.

I thank Mrs. Lindsey for the various articles of news she has sent me.

P. S. The noble benefaction of 100*l.*‡ Mr. William Vaughan has mentioned to his brother here. The 40*l.* from the Duke always appears in his account. I wish I better deserved the many favours I receive; but I can truly say, that I do not fail to do every thing in my power; and the studies they wish me to pursue are those that I apply to, *con amore*.§ My philosophical benefactors are all dropped off;|| but in this I can do all that I am now capable of, which is not much.¶

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND, *Northumberland, July 11, 1803.*

BEFORE this time I hope you will have seen the three first volumes of the Church History, and the fourth was to follow the first opportunity.

* W. XI. 15.

† See the Preface, W. XXV. 338.

‡ From Dr. John Law, Bishop of Elphin. See W. IX. iv.

§ See I. 121.

|| See I. 214—217. In the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow, is preserved the original of the following engagement, for the knowledge and a copy of which, I have been indebted to the Rev. James Yates :

“We, whose names are hereunto subscribed, agree to pay the following sums respectively to Dr. Joseph Priestley, for the sole purpose of enabling him to prosecute his experimental inquiries into the properties of air and other natural bodies, and to continue the payment of the same sum annually for three successive years, commencing from the first of this present year, 1779. William Constable, 10*l.*, John Fothergill, 10*l.*, Richard Price, 5*l.*”

¶ *Orig.* MS.

You know I often make long prefaces. There is one to the first, besides a small one to the fourth volume. I have one as long to the Notes on the Scriptures. It is designed principally to obviate objections to the Mosaic History; though this has been my object in many of my notes.

As there is not now any prospect of a new translation of the Bible, by order of the English government, and if there was, it might not be much regarded at present, I wish we had the best of the new translations printed uniformly in one book. This, I think, may be done here as well as with you, and I shall endeavour to persuade some bookseller to undertake it. I wish you and Mr. Belsham would give me your opinion and advice with respect to it. For this purpose I want Newcome's translation of the New Testament, Williams's of the Song of Solomon, and Horsley's Hosea. These I have not seen, and I wish Mr. Johnson would send them, so that I might receive them before winter. Which translation of the Psalms would you recommend? There are several good ones. Dr. Geddes I could not use for the historical books, owing to the quaintness of his style in so many places. The common one, with corrections, may do for these.

I am concerned at the renewal of the war, and cannot see any just cause for it on either side. I had hoped that there would have been peace the remainder of my time. It must be the occasion of much distress to both countries. Every thing promises well with us; but the seasons have been exceedingly unfavourable. A late frost destroyed all our fruits, and now we suffer much from drought.*

TO REV. T. BELSHAM.†

DEAR SIR,

Northumberland, Aug. 6, 1803.

IT is now a considerable time since I have heard from you or Mr. Lindsey, and I am a little anxious about the regularity of our correspondence since the unexpected breaking out of the war.

* *Orig. MS.*

† Hackney.

St. Domingo must surely now be abandoned to the blacks; and will not the English colonies be affected by the example? It may be the manner in which Divine Providence is preparing the way for the emancipation of all the negroes in this part of the world, and introducing a better state of things. The inhabitants of our southern provinces begin to be seriously alarmed at the number and refractory spirit of their slaves, and many are removing into the Genesee, and other parts, for fear of insurrections from them. We are very happily free from all apprehensions about them in this state. Measures were many years ago taken for their gradual emancipation, and in a few years more there will not be one in all Pennsylvania.*

We are happily at *peace* here, and without the most distant prospect of war. The opposition was clamorous for taking possession of New Orleans by force; but now that, and all Louisiana, is gained without it, and in a manner much more likely to be permanent. Had it remained in the possession of France, it would no doubt have been taken from them by the English, and they would have completely inclosed all the United States to the west. But the increasing population of this country would in time have burst through that feeble barrier.

So much for politics. It will now, however, become interesting to us theologians who are read in *prophecy*. What does Mr. Bicheno think? He will probably say that the *vintage* might be expected to follow the *harvest*, and that the war of Armageddon is not yet over. This war very much resembles the Peloponnesian, which was renewed after a formal peace, and ended in the overthrow of Athens, which had the advantage when the peace was made.

My *health* is at present tolerable, but very precarious. I cannot eat any flesh meat, but live chiefly on broth and soups, &c. The defect is in the stomach and liver, and of no common kind. If I hold out till I have finished what I have now in hand, I shall retire from the scene, satisfied and thankful. Few persons have had more cause to be so, for few have enjoyed

* See also "an act (1784) of Connecticut." *Amer. Ann.* II. 383.

life more than I have done. My hearing fails me, but I am exceedingly thankful that my eye-sight is good.

P. S. I have some thoughts of printing here all the best translations of the books of scripture in one volume, as a common Bible.*

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.†

DEAR FRIEND, *Northumberland, Sept. 12, 1803.*

ONCE more I have had the very great satisfaction of hearing from you in a letter, a great part of which was written with your own hand, to me so precious. As you have got so well to the middle of summer, I hope you may get through the next winter; though, on your own account, the difference between a remove at present, or a few years hence, cannot be much. Your life, however, will be a source of great satisfaction to many, if I may judge of others by myself, and therefore the continuance is earnestly to be desired. My health is much better than it was, a few weeks ago.

I am made very happy by your approbation, as I doubt not it is sincere, of my pamphlet about Socrates. I wish you may soon see my defence, against a Mr., now Dr. Linn, who wrote against it, as intended to lower the character of Jesus, and advance that of Socrates, in opposition to him. I think you will like the defence better than the pamphlet itself, as leading to a public discussion, so much wanted here, of the doctrine of the Divine Unity. He is replying to it; but I am informed that all his friends wished that he had never provoked the controversy.

Mrs. Lindsey sends me a very unfavourable account of my daughter's health, which is the first intimation I have had of her illness. I had lately a letter from her, which I was about to answer. I inclose one for her, to be sent, if she be living, otherwise suppress it. It is chiefly on account of her children, who will want such a mother, that I am much concerned about her. We shall, I hope, all meet in more favourable circumstances, and then enjoy even the retrospect of what

appears most unfavourable at present. On this I dwell more than on any thing in this world, especially since your illness, and my own increasing weakness. But, I thank God, I am recruiting, and capable of doing something, I hope, still.*

TO REV. T. BELSHAM.†

DEAR SIR,

Northumberland, Sept. 24, 1803.

SINCE this unfortunate renewal of the war, I am more anxious about our correspondence, which is of so much consequence to me, far more than it can be to you. In one respect, this country has a great advantage over yours, as we have peace, and not the most distant prospect of war, the greatest, certainly, of all calamities.

I was never more affected with the various horrors of it than in reading, lately, Mr. Hay's History of the Rebellion in Wexford; and yet almost all the atrocities were committed, not by English soldiers, but the Irish themselves, friends of the English government, and who, no doubt, thought to recommend themselves to it by that means, and they do not seem to have been punished, or much censured for it. Oppression and cruelty can never, surely, rise to so great a height in England. But, indeed, had I not seen this account, I could not have believed it of Ireland, or of any part of the civilized world.

We have the news only once a week, and in this eventful period, you may suppose that on the post day (which is this day) our anxiety is not small. Unfortunately, the post returns to Philadelphia only a few hours after its arrival, so that we are almost obliged to write our letters before we receive any. I shall, however, keep this open till I see whether I have any from you, or any other friend in England.

Since I wrote the above, I have seen the list of the subscribers to my two works. It far, very far, exceeds my expectation, both with respect to the number of names and the generosity of many of them. Yourself and Mr. Lindsey, as well as some others, have gone far beyond your proportion.

* *Orig. MS.*

† Hackney.

P. S. How happy I should have been to have been of your party, at Mr. Lindsey's, on the 1st of July!* Nothing in this world would have been superior to it. May he live to see a few more, though I cannot join you. I hope, however, that our next meeting will be more joyful still, and that is not far distant.†

TO MR. RUSSELL.

DEAR SIR,

Northumberland, Oct. 20, 1803.

NOW that the war between England and France is unfortunately renewed, I do not know how a letter from me will find you. I will, however, direct to you in Paris, or at Caen; and hope the best. I was very happy to receive yours of the 10th of May, and hope that our correspondence will never be wholly interrupted while we live. Your friendship and attachment has been one of the greatest of my satisfactions in this life, and, I doubt not, will be renewed to still greater advantage in another, to which I am making very sensible approaches.

All that I am now very solicitous about, is the printing of what I have been long employed in composing, and which, I flatter myself, will be of considerable service to the cause of rational Christianity, which you so laudably have at heart.‡ Indeed, it is the most important object that any of us can have in this world. With me, philosophy, I can truly say, was never more than of secondary consideration; and now it appears, though very valuable, yet, comparatively, less than ever. As the study of the works of God, and an incentive to devotion, which it is in an eminent degree, and therefore deserving of the cultivation of every rational being, I hope to resume this employment, and with more advantage, in another state.

I wish this may reach you, but there is an uncertainty in my correspondence with France that I cannot account for.§

* His birth-day, June 20, 1723, O. S.

† *Orig. MS.*

‡ See *supra*, p. 504, *note*.

§ *Orig. MS.*

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.*

DEAR FRIEND,

Northumberland, Nov. 4, 1803.

I CANNOT now expect to hear often from you; but I shall write as usual, as long as you or Mrs. Lindsey are living, provided I be living myself. But my health is such, that I really do not expect to survive you. But I have abundant reason to be satisfied with life, and the goodness of God in it. Few have had so happy a lot as I have had, and I now see reason to be thankful for events which, at the time, were the most afflicting.

Two posts ago brought me a letter from Mr. Galton, describing the dying condition of my daughter. I cannot grieve on her account. She had nothing before her, in this life, but a prospect of increasing trouble, and I hope soon to meet her in more favourable circumstances. I am concerned about the children. My only source of satisfaction, and it is a never-failing one, is my firm persuasion that every thing, and our oversights and mistakes among the rest, are parts of the great plan, in which every thing will, in time, appear to have been ordered and conducted in the best manner. When I hear my son's children crying, I consider that we who are advanced in life, are but children ourselves, and as little judges of what is good for ourselves or others.

As you were pleased with my comparison of Socrates and Jesus, I have begun to carry the same comparison to all the heathen moralists, and I have all the books that I want for the purpose, except Simplicius, and Arrian on Epictetus, and these I hope to get from a library in Philadelphia. Lest, however, I should fail there, I wish you or Mr. Belsham would procure and send them from London. While I am capable of any thing, I cannot be idle, and I do not know that I can do any thing better. This, too, is an undertaking that Mr. Jefferson recommends to me.†

With every good wish, I am yours and Mrs. Lindsey's most affectionately.‡

* Essex Street.

† See *supra*, p. 509.

‡ Orig. MS.

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND, *Northumberland, Dec. 19, 1803.*

I AM once more made happy by the receipt of yours of the 9th of September. I value your letters more than gold; but I am sensible it is unreasonable to expect them from you, difficult as it must now be to you to write. But a single line will suffice.

I thank God I begin to recover from an illness which has been very near carrying me off. It was ill understood by our physicians at first, and their prescriptions did me harm; but now, though exceedingly weak, I am in a good way. This encourages me to hope that I may live a few years longer, so as to finish the works I am printing and composing.

The next thing I wish to do is, to assist in the publication of a whole Bible, from the several new translations of particular books, smoothing and correcting them where I can. I shall propose it to some of our booksellers, cheerfully giving my own labour to so useful a work. If any thing remains of the subscription to my present publications, I shall spend it on others, particularly on the Alphabetical Index to the Bible,* which has been some time completely ready for the press.

I wish this may come safely to your hands; but I dread the approaching contest, which may throw every thing into confusion. It has probably taken place before this time. But there is a Sovereign Ruler, and he, we cannot doubt, will bring good out of all evil.

The excellent character and behaviour of my daughter is a great consolation to me in the thoughts of her death.

Hoping still to have the great satisfaction of hearing from you a few times more, I am yours and Mrs. Lindsey's most affectionately.†

TO REV. T. BELSHAM.‡

DEAR SIR, *Northumberland, Dec. 23, 1803.*

I HAVE been happy in the receipt of your letter, accompanying that of Mr. and Mrs. Lindsey.

* See *supra*, p. 512.

† Orig. MS.

‡ Hackney.

I am glad that you like my scheme of printing a whole Bible from the new translations corrected, and I much approve of your hints respecting it. I shall, I hope, soon be at liberty to attend to this work, and give my time principally to it, as I have made much more progress in my Comparison of the Heathen Moralists with the Christian than I ever expected. This work will please those who like the pamphlet about Socrates.

All this, however, I say on the presumption that my health continues as it is now. I assure you I did not lately expect to live many weeks, and now am feeble in the extreme, not able to mount a common staircase without the help of my arms, with feet and ancles swelled in consequence of this weakness. But, for about a week I have been better, and now have better prospect of a recovery, for which I am very thankful.

My controversy with Dr. Linn has had all the effect that the most sanguine friends of Unitarianism could wish. We have each written two pamphlets, and all his friends are mortified and ashamed for him. I have directed a few copies of each of my pamphlets to be sent to Mr. Vaughan for the use of my friends in general. An Unitarian preacher would now be very acceptable in Philadelphia, and I believe Mr. Christie, who is leaving us, and who is a popular preacher here, will go thither. He is about to take up the controversy with Dr. Linn, and he will do it well. He thinks I have let Dr. Linn off too gently, and is determined to expose his ignorance and presumption, which, indeed, are very great.

I rejoice in your account of the spread of Unitarianism among the common people.* This is the base of the pyramid.†

* See *supra*, pp. 33, 34.

† *Orig.* MS. This concluding letter from Dr. Priestley to Mr. Belsham, may be suitably accompanied by the following extracts from the commencement of their correspondence, of which I was not aware till very lately.

To Rev. T. Belsham. "Birmingham, March 9, 1787. I sent you, by Mr. Wilkinson, a copy of my Letters to a Philosophical Unbeliever, and I now beg your acceptance of a copy of my Letter to Dr. Horne, &c. You will be pleased, I hope, with the manner in which I address Dr. Price, though you will not be convinced by my arguments. But we agree in thinking, that a Christian spirit is of more value than even Christian truth."

From Rev. T. Belsham. "Daventry, March 10, 1787. I am particularly pleased with the new and clear light in which you have stated the evidences

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.*

DEAR FRIEND,

Northumberland, Jan. 16, 1804.

HAVING just received a box of books from Mr. Johnson, I beg you would make an apology for the impatience I expressed about them. The booksellers in Philadelphia having, some

of Christianity, representing the existence and prevalence of the religion of Christ, as a fact which requires a proper and adequate cause; and with the beautiful analogy which you have pointed out between the evidences of natural and revealed religion.

“ I am sorry that you despair of my conversion. I cannot but flatter myself that, though the case be inveterate and alarming, it is not incurable and hopeless, and if the cure should not be accomplished, it shall not be for want of the application of proper remedies. Your former correspondence with Dr. Price opened my eyes upon the subject of necessity, and fixed me in that system, which is my present glory. Who knows whether the present correspondence may not produce a similar effect?

“ I am far from having made up my mind upon the subject of controversy between you and your excellent friend. I profess myself a fellow-student with my pupils; a humble but, I hope, a diligent and honest inquirer after truth, willing to follow evidence whithersoever it may lead, and convinced of the indispensable duty of avowing truth at all hazards. And here, Sir, I must acknowledge my great obligation to your writings. To them am I chiefly indebted for the high idea I entertain of the importance of truth, for whatever courage I may possess in the investigation of it, and for whatever fortitude I may feel in the avowal of it. On this account I shall ever feel myself greatly indebted to you, whether my present inquiries after truth should or should not terminate eventually in a coincidence of my sentiments with yours.”

To Rev. T. Belsham. “ Birmingham, April 15, 1787. I am much obliged by your letter, expressive of that candour and liberality which have always distinguished your character, and cannot fail to do you the greatest honour. That any thing I have written should have made an impression upon such a mind, I consider as a great honour to me. I am far from wishing to make ready converts, as they are seldom steady ones. Besides, I never was a ready convert to any thing myself; but in general a very slow one, thinking long before I decided. Such is the nature and force of prejudice, especially of so long standing as yours and mine, (and we cannot help calling that prejudice, which prevents the reception of our present opinions,) that I shall not think the worse of Dr. Price or of you, though you should continue Arians, notwithstanding all the evidence I shall ever be able to bring in support of my own opinion.” See “Memoirs of the late Rev. Thomas Belsham,” (1832,) pp. 330—334.

* Essex Street.

time ago, advertised the books they had this season, and no more ships being expected before the river is usually shut up with ice, I despaired of receiving any till the next spring. This box contains many very interesting and some very splendid works, published by Mr. Phillips. They are presents, as he has before sent me very valuable ones. I beg you would tell him how much I think myself obliged to him for them. In my situation, such books are invaluable, especially as my deafness confines me in a manner at home, and my extreme weakness prevents my making any excursions. Winter also keeps me from my laboratory, so that reading and composing are my sole occupations and amusement. Here, too, I have not the convenience of borrowing books.

This situation, however, is not without its advantages. I have abundant leisure, and I have endeavoured to make the most of it. I have now finished and transcribed for the press my Comparison of the Principles of the Grecian Philosophers with those of Revelation, and with more ease and more to my own satisfaction than I expected. They who liked my pamphlet, entitled Socrates and Jesus compared, will not, I flatter myself, dislike this work. It has the same object, and completes the scheme. It has increased my own sense of the unspeakable value of revelation, and must, I think, that of every person who will give due attention to the subject.

I think I told you that, some time ago, I compiled a large Alphabetical Index to all the Books of the Old and New Testament. This I transcribed twice with my own hand, besides writing it first in short-hand. I hope it will be found useful, if it be published. I have sent it to the booksellers in Philadelphia, asking nothing for my labour. I hope that some of them will undertake it.

If my health continue as it is now, (though you little imagine how weak I am,) I shall be glad to superintend an edition of the Bible, from the late versions, correcting some of them where I can. I want Heath on Job for this purpose. I expected also, in the last parcel, the Annual Register, a number or two of the Philosophical Transactions, and a few copies of

the new edition of my Charts, and a few other articles of less consequence.

I am glad to find, by the public papers, that the ship which carried the fourth volume of my Church History, was arrived at London. You will, therefore, soon see the whole, and I wait with some anxiety to hear what you or Mr. Belsham think of it. I hope you will not think the last article in the general conclusion* improper, though there is a manifest allusion to your own case, but without the mention of your name.

We are all anxious to hear the result of the threatened invasion. I have some faint hopes that it will not be undertaken, at least upon England. What confusion and distress would it not occasion, in the most favourable issue! God preserve you, my friend, from the general calamity! How enviable is our situation, compared to yours! Our only consolation must arise from regarding the hand of God in all events, confident that the final issue will be right and good.

Your and Mrs. Lindsey's most affectionately.†

FROM PRESIDENT JEFFERSON.

DEAR SIR,

Washington, Jan. 29, 1804.

YOUR favour of Dec. 12th came duly to hand, as did the second letter to Dr. Linn, and the treatise on Phlogiston, for which I pray you to accept my thanks. The copy for Mr. Livingston has been delivered, together with your letter to him, to Mr. Harvie, my secretary, who departs, in a day or two, for Paris, and will deliver them himself to Mr. Livingston, whose attention to your matter cannot be doubted. I have also to add my thanks to Mr. Priestley, your son, for the copy of your Harmony, which I have gone through with great sa-

* W. X. 542.

† *Orig. MS.* Mr. Belsham having inserted the larger part, adds,

"This is the last letter which Dr. Priestly wrote to his venerated and beloved friend. That truly great and excellent man, whose active spirit was incessantly engaged in devising or performing something for the interest of truth and virtue, was released from his labours and sufferings on the 6th of February following." *Mem. of Lindsey*, p. 543.

tisfaction. It is the first I have been able to meet with which is clear of those long repetitions of the same transaction, as if it were a different one, because related with some different circumstances.

I rejoice that you have undertaken the task of comparing the moral doctrines of Jesus with those of the ancient philosophers. You are so much in possession of the whole subject, that you will do it easier and better than any other person living. I think you cannot avoid giving, as preliminary to the comparison, a digest of his moral doctrines, extracted in his own words from the Evangelists, and leaving out every thing relative to his personal history and character. It would be short and precious. With a view to do this for my own satisfaction, I had sent to Philadelphia to get two Testaments (Greek) of the same edition, and two English, with a design to cut out the morsels of morality,* and paste them on the leaves of a book in the manner you describe as having been pursued in forming your Harmony. But I shall now get the thing done by better hands.

Have you seen the new work of Malthus on population? It is one of the ablest I have ever seen. Although his main object is to delineate the effects of redundancy of population, and to test the poor-laws of England, and other palliations for that evil, several important questions in political economy, allied to his subject incidentally, are treated with a masterly hand. It is a single octavo volume, and I have been only able to read a borrowed copy, the only one I have yet heard of. Probably our friends in England will think of you, and give you an opportunity of reading it.

Accept my affectionate salutations, and assurances of great esteem and respect.†

* The President's design has been pursued very successfully by the learned Brahmin whose name, at the commencement of this biography, I have, not unsuitably, connected with the name of Priestley. See "The Precepts of Jesus, the Guide to Peace and Happiness." By Rammohun Roy. *Calcutta*, 1820. M. R. XVI. 477, 515.

† *Memoirs, Correspondence, &c., of Thomas Jefferson*, IV. 14, 15.

I know not whether Dr. Priestley survived the date of this letter, long enough to have received it. "The last scene of his life," while the affecting and edifying circumstances were in lively recollection, Mr. Priestley has thus described:

The first part of my father's illness, independent of his general weakness, the result of his illness in Philadelphia, in 1801, was a constant indigestion, and a difficulty of swallowing meat, or any kind of solid food, unless previously reduced by mastication to a perfect pulp. This gradually increased upon him till he could swallow liquids but very slowly, and led him to suspect, which he did to the last, that there must be some stoppage in the *œsophagus*. Lately he lived almost entirely upon tea, chocolate, soups, sago, and the like.

During all this time of general and increasing debility, he was busily employed in printing his Church History, and the first volume of the Notes on Scripture; and in making new and original experiments, an account of which he sent to the American Philosophical Society, in two numbers, one in answer to Dr. Darwin's "Observations on Spontaneous Generation;" and the other "On the unexpected Conversion of a Quantity of the Marine Acid into the Nitrous." During this period, likewise, he wrote his pamphlet of "Jesus and Socrates compared," and reprinted his "Essay on Phlogiston." He would not suffer any one to do for him what he had been accustomed to do himself; nor did he alter his former mode of life in any respect, excepting that he no longer worked in his garden, and that he read more books of a miscellaneous nature than he had been used to do when he could work more in his laboratory, which had always served him as a relaxation from his other studies.

From about the beginning of November 1803, to the middle of January 1804, his complaint grew more serious. He was once incapable of swallowing any thing for near thirty hours; and there being some symptoms of inflammation at his

stomach, blisters were applied, which afforded him relief; and by very great attention to his diet, riding out in a chair when the weather would permit, and living chiefly on the soft parts of oysters, he seemed, if not gaining ground, at least not getting worse; and we had reason to hope, that if he held out until spring, as he was, the same attention to his diet with more exercise, which it was impossible for him to take on account of the cold weather, would restore him to health. He, however, considered his life as very precarious, and used to tell the physician who attended him, that if he could but patch him up for six months longer, he should be perfectly satisfied, as he should in that time be able to complete printing his works. The swelling of his feet, an alarming symptom of general debility, began about this time.

To give some idea of the exertions he made even at this time, it is only necessary for me to say, that besides his miscellaneous reading, which was at all times very great, he read through all the works quoted in his comparison of the different systems of the Grecian philosophers with Christianity, composed that work, and transcribed the whole of it in less than three months. He took the precaution of transcribing one day, in long hand, what he had composed the day before, in short hand, that he might by that means leave the work complete as far as it went, should he not live to complete the whole. During this period he composed, in a day, his second reply to Dr. Linn.

About this time he ceased performing divine service, which he said he had never before known himself incapable of performing, notwithstanding he had been a preacher so many years. He likewise now suffered me to rake his fire, rub his feet with a flesh-brush, and occasionally help him to bed. In the morning likewise he had his fire made for him, which he always used to do himself, and generally before any of the family was stirring.

In the last fortnight in January, he was troubled with alarming fits of indigestion; his legs swelled nearly to his knees, and his weakness increased very much. I wrote for him, while he dictated, the concluding section of his *New Comparison*, and

the Preface and Dedication. The finishing this work was a source of great satisfaction to him, as he considered it as a work of as much consequence as any he had ever undertaken. The first alarming symptom of approaching dissolution was his being unable to speak to me upon my entering his room, on Tuesday morning, the 31st of January. In his diary I find he stated his situation as follows: "Ill all day—not able to speak for nearly three hours." When he was able to speak, he told me he had slept well (as he uniformly had done through the whole of his illness; so that he never would suffer me, though I frequently requested he would do it, to sleep in the same room with him); that he felt as well as possible; that he got up and shaved himself (which he never omitted doing every morning, till within two days of his death); that he went to his laboratory, and then found his weakness very great; that he got back with difficulty; that just afterward his granddaughter, a child of about six or seven years old, came to him to claim the fulfilment of a promise he had made her the evening before, to give her a five-penny bit. He gave her the money, and was going to speak to her, but found himself unable. He informed me of this, speaking very slowly a word at a time; and added, that he had never felt more pleasantly in his whole life than he did during the time he was unable to speak. After he had taken his medicine, which was bark and laudanum, and drank a bason of strong mutton broth, he recovered surprisingly, and talked with cheerfulness to all who called upon him, but as though he was fully sensible that he had not long to live. He consented for the first time that I should sleep in the room with him.

On Wednesday, February 1, he writes, "I was at times much better in the morning: capable of some business: continued better all day." He spake this morning as strong as usual, and took, in the course of the day, a good deal of nourishment with pleasure. He said, that he felt a return of strength, and with it there was a duty to perform. He read a good deal in Newcome's Translation of the New Testament, and Stevens's History of the War. In the afternoon he gave me some directions how to proceed with the printing his work, in case he should

die. He gave me directions to stop the printing of the second volume, and to begin upon the third, that he might see how it was begun, and that it might serve as a pattern to me to proceed by.

On Thursday, the 2d, he wrote thus for the last time in his diary: "Much worse: incapable of business: Mr. Kennedy came to receive instructions about printing, in case of my death." He sat up, however, a great part of the day, was cheerful, and gave Mr. Cooper and myself some directions, with the same composure as though he had only been about to leave home for a short time. Though it was fatiguing to him to talk, he read a good deal in the works above-mentioned.

On Friday he was much better. He sat up a good part of the day reading Newcome; Dr. Disney's Translation of the Psalms; and some chapters in the Greek Testament, which was his daily practice. He corrected a proof-sheet of the Notes on Isaiah. When he went to bed he was not so well: he had an idea he should not live another day. At prayer-time he wished to have the children kneel by his bed-side, saying it gave him great pleasure to see the little things kneel; and, thinking he possibly might not see them again, he gave them his blessing.

On Saturday, the 4th, my father got up for about an hour while his bed was made. He said he felt more comfortable in bed than up. He read a good deal, and looked over the first sheet of the third volume of the "Notes," that he might see how we were likely to go on with it; and having examined the Greek and Hebrew quotations, and finding them right, he said he was satisfied we should finish the work very well. In the course of the day, he expressed his gratitude in being permitted to die quietly in his family, without pain, with every convenience and comfort he could wish for. He dwelt upon the peculiarly happy situation in which it had pleased the Divine Being to place him in life; and the great advantage he had enjoyed in the acquaintance and friendship of some of the best and wisest men in the age in which he lived, and the satisfaction he derived from having led an useful as well as a happy life.

On Sunday he was much weaker, and only sat up in an

armed chair while his bed was made. He desired me to read to him the eleventh chapter of *John*. I was going on to read to the end of the chapter, but he stopped me at the forty-fifth verse. He dwelt for some time on the advantage he had derived from reading the Scriptures daily, and advised me to do the same; saying, that it would prove to me, as it had done to him, a source of the purest pleasure. He desired me to reach him a pamphlet which was at his bed's head, Simpson on the Duration of Future Punishment. "It will be a source of satisfaction to you to read that pamphlet," said he, giving it to me; "it contains my sentiments, and a belief in them will be a support to you in the most trying circumstances, as it has been to me. We shall all meet finally: we only require different degrees of discipline, suited to our different tempers, to prepare us for final happiness." Upon Mr. — coming into his room, he said, "You see, Sir, I am still living." Mr. — observed, he would always live. "Yes," said he, "I believe I shall; and we shall all meet again in another and a better world." He said this with great animation, laying hold on Mr. —'s hand in both his.

Before prayers he desired me to reach him three publications, about which he would give me some directions next morning. His weakness would not permit him to do it at that time. At prayers he had all the children brought to his bedside as before. After prayers they wished him a good night, and were leaving the room. He desired them to stay, spoke to them each separately. He exhorted them all to continue to love each other. "And you, little thing," speaking to Eliza, "remember the hymn you learned; 'Birds in their little nests agree,' &c. I am going to sleep as well as you; for death is only a good long sound sleep in the grave, and we shall meet again." He congratulated us on the dispositions of our children; said it was a satisfaction to see them likely to turn out well; and continued for some time to express his confidence in a happy immortality, and in a future state, which would afford us an ample field for the exertion of our faculties.

On Monday morning, the 6th of February, after having lain perfectly still till four o'clock in the morning, he called to me,

but in a fainter tone than usual, to give him some wine and tincture of bark. I asked him how he felt. He answered, he had no pain, but appeared fainting away gradually. About an hour after, he asked me for some chicken-broth, of which he took a tea-cup full. His pulse was quick, weak, and fluttering, his breathing, though easy, short. About eight o'clock he asked me to give him some egg and wine. After this, he lay quite still till ten o'clock, when he desired me and Mr. Cooper to bring him the pamphlets we had looked out the evening before. He then dictated as clearly and distinctly as he had ever done in his life, the additions and alterations he wished to have made in each. Mr. Cooper took down the substance of what he said, which, when he had done, I read to him. He said Mr. Cooper had put it in his own language; he wished it to be put in his. I then took a pen and ink to his bed-side. He then repeated over again, nearly word for word, what he had before said; and when I had done, I read it over to him. He said, "That is right; I have now done." About half an hour after he desired, in a faint voice, that we would move him from the bed on which he lay to a cot, that he might lie with his lower limbs horizontal, and his head upright. He died in about ten minutes after we had moved him, but breathed his last so easy, that neither myself or my wife, who were both sitting close to him, perceived it at the time. He had put his hand to his face, which prevented our observing it.

Dr. Priestley was thus highly favoured in the unremitting attentions of an affectionate son, who happily survived to attest "the composure and cheerfulness of his last moments," with an authority unquestionable, and in terms to which I could add nothing, without enfeebling their effect. What a "post of honour," in the service of such a father, to

Make languor smile, and smooth the bed of death!

"Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his."

The decease of an illustrious associate, when announced at Paris, called forth, from *Cuvier*, an Historical Eulogy, before the National Institute,* while the Royal Society of London preserved a courtly silence.† Yet, among the respectful tributes to Dr. Priestley's talents and character, there was no one more appropriate than the following, at Birmingham, from the pen of Dr. Parr :

THIS TABLET

Is consecrated to the Memory of the
REV. JOSEPH PRIESTLEY, LL. D.

by his affectionate Congregation,
in Testimony
of their Gratitude for his faithful Attention
to their spiritual Improvement,
and for his peculiar Diligence in training up their Youth
to rational Piety and genuine Virtue ;
of their Respect for his great and various Talents,
which were uniformly directed to the noblest Purposes ;
and of their Veneration
for the pure, benevolent, and holy Principles,
which through the trying Vicissitudes of Life,
and in the awful hour of Death,
animated him with the hope of a blessed Immortality.

His Discoveries as a Philosopher
will never cease to be remembered and admired
by the ablest Improvers of Science.

His Firmness as an Advocate of Liberty,
and his Sincerity as an Expounder of the Scriptures,
endeared him to many
of his enlightened and unprejudiced Contemporaries.

His Example as a Christian
will be instructive to the Wise, and interesting to the Good,
of every Country, and in every Age.

He was born at Fieldhead, near Leeds, in Yorkshire,
March 24, A. D. 1733.

Was chosen a Minister of this Chapel, Dec. 31, 1780.

Continued in that office Ten Years and Six Months.

Embarked for America, April 7, 1794.

Died at Northumberland, in Pennsylvania, Feb. 6, 1804.

* See M. R. I. 216, 328.

† See *supra*, p. 231, note.

THE wish Dr. Priestley had expressed, after surviving an affectionate wife and a highly-promising son,* was accomplished. He shared their burial-place;† and while the sciences he cultivated are advancing to perfection; while the rights of man, which he ably vindicated, are successfully asserted; and, especially, while the scriptural views of Christian theology, which he taught with all the ardour of an apostle, are multiplying their adherents, among the serious and the considerate, it may be fairly expected that, in other and distant times, the wise and the virtuous will frequently indulge some grateful recollections beside the grave of Priestley.

Charmed with the discoveries of science, and eager, by prompt and unreserved communication, to diffuse as far as possible, their beneficial influence, he was yet supremely attracted to the discoveries of revelation.‡ Hence his unvarying purpose, “by labour and patience, through evil report, and through good report,” and even when flesh and heart were failing, to promote, in the most enlarged sense of the expression, “the greatest good of

* See I. 208, *note* *, *supra*, p. 356.

† Mr. W. Christie delivered a funeral oration. See I. 352, *note*.

‡ “Priestley,” says Mr. Anthony Robinson, “was a man of restless activity, but he uniformly directed that activity to what seemed to him the public good, seeking neither emolument nor honour from men.

“When philosophy was in fashion, and he, as one of its great masters, was in fashion, he wrote on religion, to the injury of his reputation, only because he believed it still more important to mankind than any of the pursuits of philosophy.” M. R. XVII. 169. See I. 33, *note* *.

“Dr. Priestley,” says Dr. Brewster, “was possessed of great ardour and vivacity of intellect; but, though ever zealous for the propagation of truth, his heart would not have suffered him to injure even his bitterest enemy. Of a mild and placid temper, he was naturally disposed to be cheerful, especially in the private circle of his friends. Uniformly kind and affectionate in domestic life, he was the tenderest husband, and the best of parents. His integrity was unimpeachable; and even malice itself could not fix a stain on his private character.” *Ency. Edinen.* V. 757, 758. See Dr. Henry’s “Estimate,” *supra*, p. 490, *note* †; “Christian Reformer,” XVIII. 246, &c.

the greatest number ;” a sentiment with which he had the honour, by one of his earliest publications,* to inspire that philosopher and philanthropist, who has lately left the world, after devoting himself in death, as in life, to its service ; but whose memory will remain, unless, again, in the dispensations of an inscrutable Providence, “ darkness shall cover the earth, and gross darkness the people.”

A willing, though not unanxious, occupation is now concluded. Seventeen years have elapsed, since I first entertained the project of printing, in a connected form, and with such illustrations as recollection or inquiry could supply, the whole of Dr. Priestley’s Theological and Miscellaneous Works, including his Memoirs and Correspondence. That intervals of health and ease have been afforded me, and that some capacity for mental exertion has been continued, these are favours that demand my gratitude, especially at a period of life extended beyond the years of Priestley.

To have our names thus connected, is a distinction of which I am not insensible. It was my happiness to share the cheerful and the serious hours of Gilbert Wakefield, till he was lost to friendship and to society in the midst of his days. I listened to the Christian counsels of Theophilus Lindsey, when, in the activity of life, he was eminently serving his generation, according to the will of God ; and I have often witnessed how Christian consolations would cheer and sustain him, amidst the languors of age, and in the daily expectance of dissolution. And, now, after a personal acquaintance, whose speedy interruption has frequently excited an unavailing regret, I have been admitted to an intimacy, not I trust unedifying, with the richly-furnished mind of Joseph Priestley.

Magnanimi heroes, sit anima mea vobiscum !

* See. I. 52, note †.

THE WORKS
OF
JOSEPH PRIESTLEY, L.L.D., F.R.S., &c.,
IN THE ORDER OF THEIR PUBLICATION.

1761.

The Scripture Doctrine of Remission, which shews that the Death of Christ is no proper Sacrifice, nor Satisfaction for Sin; but that Pardon is dispensed solely on account of Repentance, or a Personal Reformation of the Sinner. (*Introd.* W. VII. 533.)

The Rudiments of English Grammar, to which are added, Observations on Style and Specimens of English Composition, adapted to the use of Schools. (*New Ed.*, 1798. W. XXIII. 3.)

1762.

A Course of Lectures on the Theory of Language and Universal Grammar. Printed for the use of the Students at Warrington. (W. XXIII. 119.)

1764.

On the Duty of not Living to Ourselves. A Sermon, preached before the Assembly of Ministers of the Counties of Lancaster and Chester, met at Manchester, May 16, 1764, to carry into execution a Scheme for the Relief of their Widows and Children. (3d *Ed.*, 1787. W. XV. 100; XXII. 530.)

1765.

An Essay on a Course of Liberal Education for Civil and Active Life, with Plans of Lectures on the Study of History and General Policy, on the History of England, and on the Constitution and Laws of England. (W. XXIV. 7, 439—463.)

A Chart of Biography, with a book containing an Explanation of it, and all the Names inserted in it. (W. XXIV. 463.)

1767.

The History and Present State of Electricity, with Original Experiments. (3d *Ed.*, 1775, *Pref.* W. XXV. 341.)

1768.

A Familiar Introduction to the Study of Electricity. (4th *Ed.*, 1786, *Pref.* W. XXV. 355.)

An Essay on the First Principles of Government, and on the Nature of Political, Civil, and Religious Liberty. (*Ed.* 2, 1771. W. XXII. 1.)

The English Grammar, with Notes and Observations, for the Use of those who have made some Proficiency in the Language. (W. XXIII. 46.)

A Free Address to Protestant Dissenters on the subject of the Lord's Supper. (3d *Ed.*, 1774. W. XXI. 249.)

1769.

Considerations on Church Authority, occasioned by Dr. Balguy's Sermon on that subject, preached at Lambeth Chapel, and published by order of the Archbishop. (*Pref.* W. XXII. 517.)

Considerations on Differences of Opinion among Christians, with a Letter to the Rev. Mr. Venn, in answer to his Full and Free Examination of the Address to Protestant Dissenters on the subject of the Lord's Supper. (W. XXI. 302.)

A Free Address to Protestant Dissenters, as such, by a Dissenter. (2d *Ed.*, 1771. W. XXII. 247.)

A Serious Address to Masters of Families, with Forms of Family Prayer. (3d *Ed.*, 1794. W. XXI. 449.)

A New Chart of History, with a book explaining it, containing a View of the Principal Revolutions of Empires that have taken place in the World. (15th *Ed.*, 1816. W. XXIV. 477.)

Remarks on some Paragraphs in the fourth volume of Dr. Blackstone's Commentaries on the Laws of England, relating to the Dissenters. (*Philadelphia*, 1772. W. XXII. 302.)

An Answer (in the St. James's Chronicle) to Dr. Blackstone's Reply. (*Philadelphia*, 1772. W. XXII. 328.)

A View of the Principles and Conduct of Protestant Dissenters, with respect to the Civil and Ecclesiastical Constitution of England. (2d *Ed.* W. XXII. 335.)

The Present State of Liberty in Great Britain and her Colonies. By an Englishman. (W. XXII. 380.)

The Theological Repository; consisting of Original Essays, Hints, Queries, &c. Calculated to promote Religious Knowledge. Published under the direction of Dr. Priestley. Vol. I. (*Introd.*, &c. VII. 514.)

1770.

A Familiar Introduction to the Theory and Practice of Perspective. (2d *Ed.*, 1780, *Pref.* W. XXV. 356.)

A Free Address to Protestant Dissenters on the subject of Church Discipline. With a Preliminary Discourse concerning the Spirit of Christianity, and the Corruption of it, by false Notions of Religion. (W. XXI. 374.)

A Letter to the Author of the Protestant Dissenter's Answer to the Free Address on the subject of the Lord's Supper. (W. XXI. 293.)

Letters to the Author of "Remarks on several late Publications relative to the Dissenters, in a Letter to Dr. Priestley." (W. XXII. 399.)

Additional Letter on "Remarks." (W. XXII. 533.)

An Appeal to the Serious and Candid Professors of Christianity on the following subjects, viz. 1. The Use of Reason in Matters of Religion. 2. The Power of Man to do the Will of God. 3. Original Sin. 4. Election and Reprobation. 5. The Divinity of Christ. And, 6. Atonement for Sin by the Death of Christ. To which are added, A Concise History of those Doctrines, and the Triumph of Truth, being an Account of the Trial of Mr.

Elwall for Heresy and Blasphemy. (*Ed.* 1791. W. II. 383. *Amer. Pref.* XXV. 336.)

A Familiar Illustration of certain Passages of Scripture. (*Ed.* 1791. W. II. 430.)

1771.

Letters and Queries, addressed to the anonymous Answerer of an Appeal, to the Serious and Candid Professors of Christianity, to the Rev. Mr. Thomas Morgan, and to Mr. Cornelius Caley. (W. XXI. 3.)

The Theological Repository. Vols. II., III. (*Conclusion.* W. VII. 523.)

1772.

Directions for Impregnating Water with Fixed Air. (*Ded.* and *Pref.* XXV. 359, 360.)

The History of the Present State of Discoveries relating to Vision, Light, and Colours. (*Ded.* and *Pref.* XXV. 361, 362.)

Institutes of Natural and Revealed Religion. Vol. I. To which is prefixed, An Essay on the best Method of communicating Religious Knowledge to Christian Societies. (W. II. xxii.)

1773.

An Address to Protestant Dissenters on the subject of giving the Lord's Supper to Children. (W. XXI. 354.)

A Sermon, preached before the Congregation of Protestant Dissenters at Mill-Hill Chapel, Leeds, May 16, 1773, on occasion of resigning the Pastoral Office amongst them. (2d *Ed.*, 1787. W. XV. 7.)

Institutes of Natural and Revealed Religion. Vol. II.

A Letter of Advice to those Dissenters who conduct the Application to Parliament for Relief from certain Penal Laws, with various Observations relating to similar subjects. By the Author of the "Free Address to Protestant Dissenters as such." (W. XXII. 441.)

1774.

An Address to Protestant Dissenters of all Denominations, on the approaching Election of Members of Parliament, with respect to the State of Public Liberty in general, and of American Affairs in particular. *Anonymous.* (W. XXII. 483.)

Institutes of Natural and Revealed Religion. Vol. III. (2d *Ed.*, 1782. W. II.)

A Letter to a Layman on the subject of the Rev. Mr. Lindsey's Proposal for a Reformed English Church upon the plan of the late Dr. Samuel Clarke. *Anonymous.* (W. XXI. 29.)

An Examination of Dr. Reid's Inquiry into the Human Mind, on the Principles of Common Sense; Dr. Beattie's Essay on the Nature and Immutability of Truth; and Dr. Oswald's Appeal to Common Sense in behalf of Religion. (2d *Ed.*, 1775. W. III. 1.)

Experiments and Observations on different Branches of Air, and other Branches of Natural Philosophy, connected with the subject. Vol. I.

1775.

Hartley's Theory of the Human Mind on the Principle of the Association

of Ideas, with Essays relating to the subject of it. (2d *Ed.*, 1790. W. III. 167.)

Philosophical Empiricism, containing Remarks on a Charge of Plagiarism, made by Dr. Higgins; interspersed with Observations relating to different kinds of Air.

Considerations for the use of Young Men, and the Parents of Young Men. (2d *Ed.*, 1778. W. XXV. 68.)

Experiments and Observations. Vol. II.

1777.

Disquisitions relating to Matter and Spirit. To which is added, the History of the Philosophical Doctrine concerning the Soul and the Nature of Matter; with its Influence on Christianity, especially with respect to the Doctrine of the Pre-existence of Christ. (2d *Ed.*, 1782. W. III. 197.)

The Doctrine of Philosophical Necessity illustrated; being an Appendix to the Disquisitions. (2d *Ed.*, 1782. W. III. 447.)

A Harmony of the Evangelists in Greek, to which are prefixed, Critical Dissertations in English. (W. XX. 1.)

A Course of Lectures on Oratory and Criticism. (W. XXIII. 253.)

Experiments and Observations. Vol. III.

1778.

Miscellaneous Observations relating to Education, more especially as it respects the Conduct of the Mind. To which are added, Considerations for the use of Young Men and the Parents of Young Men. (*Cork*, 1780. W. XXV. 1.)

A Free Discussion of the Doctrines of Materialism and Philosophical Necessity, in a Correspondence between Dr. Price and Dr. Priestley; to which are added, by Dr. Priestley, an Introduction, explaining the Nature of the Controversy, and Letters to several Writers who have animadverted on his Disquisitions relating to Matter and Spirit, or his Treatise on Necessity. (2d *Ed.*, 1782. W. IV. 1.)

1779.

Experiments and Observations. Vol. IV.

The Doctrine of Divine Influence on the Human Mind, considered in a Sermon, preached at the Ordination of the Rev. Messrs. Thomas and John Jervis. Published at the request of many Persons who have occasionally heard it. (2d *Ed.*, 1787. W. XV. 82.)

A Letter to the Rev. Mr. John Palmer, in Defence of the Illustrations of Philosophical Necessity. (W. IV. 167.)

1780.

A Second Letter to the Rev. Mr. John Palmer. (W. IV. 205.)

A Letter to Jacob Bryant, Esq., in Defence of Philosophical Necessity. (W. IV. 224.)

A Harmony of the Evangelists, in English, with Critical Dissertations, an occasional Paraphrase, and Notes for the use of the Unlearned. (W. XX. 19, 508.)

Two Letters to Dr. Newcome, Bishop of Waterford, late of Ossory, on the Duration of our Saviour's Ministry. (W. XX. 121.)

Letters to a Philosophical Unbeliever. Part I., containing an Examination of the Principal Objections to the Doctrines of Natural Religion, and especially those contained in the Writings of Mr. Hume. (2 *Ed.*, 1787. W. IV. 317.)

A Free Address to those who have petitioned for the Repeal of the late Act of Parliament in favour of the Roman Catholics. By a Lover of Peace and Truth. (W. XXII. 499.)

Experiments and Observations. Vol. V.

1781.

A Third Letter to Dr. Newcome, Bishop of Waterford, on the Duration of our Lord's Ministry. (W. XX. 201.)

1782.

An History of the Corruptions of Christianity. (W. V.)

Additional Letters to a Philosophical Unbeliever. (2d *Ed.*, 1787. W. IV. 412.)

The Proper Constitution of a Christian Church, considered in a Sermon, preached at the New Meeting, in Birmingham, Nov. 3, 1782; to which is prefixed, a Prefatory Discourse, relating to the Present State of those who are called Rational Dissenters. (2d *Ed.*, 1787. W. XV. 45.)

Two Discourses. 1. On Habitual Devotion. 2. On the Duty of not Living to Ourselves. Both preached to Assemblies of Protestant Dissenting Ministers, and published at their request. (2d *Ed.*, 1787. W. XV. 100.)

{1783.

A Reply to the Animadversions on the History of the Corruptions of Christianity, in the Monthly Review for June 1783, with additional Observations relating to the Doctrine of the Primitive Church concerning the Person of Christ. (W. XVIII. 3.)

Letters to Dr. Horsley, in Answer to his Animadversions on the History of the Corruptions of Christianity; with additional Evidence that the Primitive Christian Church was Unitarian. (W. XVIII. 38.)

Remarks on the Article of the Monthly Review for September 1783, in Answer to the Reply to some former Animadversions in that Work. (W. XVIII. 117.)

Forms of Prayer, and other Offices, for the Use of Unitarian Societies. (W. XXI. 474.)

1784.

Remarks on the Monthly Review of the Letters to Dr. Horsley; in which the Rev. Mr. Samuel Badcock, the writer of that Review, is called upon to defend what he has advanced in it. (W. XVIII. 125.)

Letters to Dr. Horsley, Part II., containing farther Evidence that the Primitive Christian Church was Unitarian. (W. XVIII. 143.)

Theological Repository, Vol. IV. (*Introd.* W. VII. 526.)

1785.

The Importance and Extent of Free Inquiry in Matters of Religion. A Sermon preached before the Congregations of the Old and New Meeting at Birmingham, Nov. 5, 1785. To which are added, Reflections on the Present

State of Free Inquiry in this Country. (2d *Ed.* 1787; W. XV. 70; XVIII. 541.)

1786.

Letters to Dr. Horsley, Part III., containing an Answer to his Remarks on Letters Part II. To which are added, Strictures on Mr. Howe's Ninth Number of Observations on Books Ancient and Modern. (W. XVIII. 275.)

Experiments and Observations, Vol. VI.

Theological Repository, Vol. V.

An History of Early Opinions concerning Jesus Christ, compiled from Original Writers, proving that the Christian Church was at first Unitarian. (W. VI. 1.)

1787.

Letters to a Philosophical Unbeliever, Part II., containing a State of the Evidence of Revealed Religion, with Animadversions on the two last Chapters of the First Volume of Mr. Gibbon's History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. (W. IV. 444.)

A Letter to the Right Hon. William Pitt, on the Subjects of Toleration and Church Establishments, occasioned by his Speech against the Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. (2d *Ed.* W. XIX. 111.)

Defences of Unitarianism for the year 1786, containing Letters to Dr. Horne, Dean of Canterbury, to the Young Men who are in a course of Education for the Christian Ministry at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge; to Dr. Price and to Mr. Parkhurst, on the Person of Christ. (W. XVIII. 317.)

Discourses on Various Subjects, including several on Particular Occasions. (W. XV. 1.)

Letters to the Jews, Part I, inviting them to an Amicable Discussion of the Evidences of Christianity. (W. XX. 227.)

Letters to the Jews, Part II., occasioned by Mr. David Levi's Reply to the former Letters (W. XX. 251.)

Account of a Society for the Relief of the Industrious Poor, with some Considerations on the State of the Poor, in general; and a Recommendation of Benefit Societies. (W. XXV. 314.)

1788.

An History of the Sufferings of M. Lewis de Marolles, and M. Isaac Le Fevre, upon the Revocation of the Edict of Nantz. To which is prefixed a General Account of the Treatment of the Protestants in the Galleys of France. Translated from the French, 1712, and now republished. (*Pref.* W. XXV. 320.)

Lectures on History and General Policy. To which is prefixed, an Essay on a Course of Liberal Education for Civil and Active Life. *Philadelphia*, 1803, with an additional Lecture on the Constitution of the United States. (W. XXIV. 1.)

A Sermon on the subject of the Slave Trade, delivered to a Society of Protestant Dissenters at the New Meeting in Birmingham, and published at their request. (W. XV. 363.)

Defences of Unitarianism for the year 1787, containing Letters to the Rev. Dr. Geddes, to the Rev. Dr. Price, Part II., and to the Candidates for

Orders in the two Universities, Part II., relating to Mr. Howes's Appendix to his fourth volume of *Observations on Books*, a Letter by an Undergraduate of Oxford, Dr. Croft Bampton's Lectures, and several other Publications. (W. XVIII. 425.)

Theological Repository, Vol. VI. (*Conclusion*, W. VII. 530.)

1789.

The Conduct to be observed by Dissenters, in order to procure the Repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts; recommended in a Sermon preached before the Congregations of the Old and New Meetings at Birmingham, Nov. 5, 1789. Printed at the request of the Committee of the seven Congregations of the Denominations of Protestant Dissenters in Birmingham. (2d *Ed.* W. XV. 389.)

1790.

A General History of the Christian Church, to the Fall of the Western Empire. (2d *Ed.*, 1803. W. VIII. 1.)

Experiments and Observations on different Kinds of Air, and other Branches of Natural Philosophy connected with the subject. In three volumes, being the former six abridged and methodized, with many Additions. (*Ded.* and *Pref.* W. XXV. 368, 371.)

Familiar Letters addressed to the Inhabitants of Birmingham, in Refutation of several Charges advanced against the Dissenters and Unitarians by the Rev. Mr. Madan; also, Letters to the Rev. Edward Burn, in answer to his on the Infallibility of the Apostolic Testimony concerning the Person of Christ. (2d *Ed.* W. XIX. 135.)

A View of Revealed Religion. A Sermon on the admission of the Rev. W. Field, of Warwick, July 12, 1790, with a Charge, by the Rev. Thomas Belsham. (2d *Ed.*, 1794. W. XV. 348.)

Defences of Unitarianism, for the years 1788 and 1789, containing Letters to Dr. Horsley, Lord Bishop of St. David's, to the Rev. Mr. Barnard, the Rev. Dr. Knowles, and the Rev. Mr. Hawkins. (W. XIX. 1)

Reflections on Death. A Sermon on occasion of the Death of the Rev. Robert Robinson, of Cambridge, delivered at the New Meeting at Birmingham, June 13, 1790, and published at the request of those who heard it, and of Mr. Robinson's Family. (W. XV. 404)

A Philosophical Inquiry concerning Human Liberty. By Anthony Collins, Esq. Republished with a Preface. (W. IV. 255.)

1791.

The proper Objects of Education in the present state of the World, represented in a Discourse delivered on Wednesday, April 27, 1791, at the Meeting-house in the Old Jewry, London, to the Supporters of the New College at Hackney. (2d *Ed.* W. XV. 420.)

A Discourse on occasion of the Death of Dr. Price, delivered at Hackney, on Sunday, May 1, 1791. Also a short Sketch of the Life of Dr. Price, with an account of his Publications. (W. XV. 441; XX. 493.)

Original Letters, by the Rev. John Wesley and his Friends, illustrative of his early History, with other curious Papers: to which is prefixed an Address to the Methodists. (*Pref.* and *Address.* W. XXV. 325, 331.)

A Discourse on the Evidence of the Resurrection of Jesus, delivered in the Assembly Room at Buxton, on Sunday, Sept. 19, 1790. To which is prefixed an Address to the Jews. (2d *Ed.*, 1794. W. XV. 325; XX. 275, 517.)

A Political Dialogue on the General Principles of Government. *Anonymous.* (W. XXV. 81.)

Letters to the Right Honourable Edmund Burke, occasioned by his Reflections on the Revolution in France, &c. (3d *Ed.* W. XXII. 145.)

Letters to the Members of the New Jerusalem Church, formed by Baron Swedenborg. (W. XXI. 43.)

The Duty of Forgiveness of Injuries, a Discourse intended to be delivered soon after the Riots in Birmingham. (XV. 475.)

A particular Attention to the Instruction of the Young recommended, in a Discourse delivered at the Gravel-pit Meeting in Hackney, Dec. 4, 1791, on entering on the office of Pastor to the Congregation of Protestant Dissenters assembling in that place. (W. XV. 458.)

1792.

An Appeal to the Public, Part I. To which are added, Strictures on a Pamphlet entitled, "Thoughts on the late Riots at Birmingham." (2d *Ed.* W. XIX. 347.)

Letters to a Young Man, Part I., occasioned by Mr. Wakefield's Essay on Public Worship; to which is added, a Reply to Mr. Evanson's Objections to the Observance of the Lord's Day. (W. XX. 303.)

An Appeal to the Public, on the subject of the Riots in Birmingham, Part. II. To which is added, a Letter from W. Russell, Esq., to the Author. (W. XIX. 434.)

1793.

Letters to a Young Man, Part II.; occasioned by Mr. Evanson's Treatise on the Dissonance of the four generally-received Evangelists. (W. XX. 352.)

A Sermon preached at the Gravel-Pit Meeting in Hackney, April 19, 1793, being the day appointed for a General Fast. (W. XV. 494.)

Letters to the Philosophers and Politicians of France on the subject of Religion. (W. XXI. 87.)

Experiments on the Generation of Air from Water; to which are prefixed, Experiments relating to the Decomposition of Dephlogisticated and Inflammable Air.

1794.

Heads of Lectures on a Course of Experimental Philosophy, particularly including Chemistry; delivered at the New College in Hackney. (*Pref.* and *Ded.* W. XXV. 385, 386.)

The present State of Europe compared with Ancient Prophecies; a Sermon preached at the Gravel-Pit Meeting in Hackney, Feb. 28, 1794, being the day appointed for a General Fast; with a Preface, containing the Reasons for the Author's leaving England. (W. XV. 519.)

Discourses on the Evidence of Revealed Religion. (W. XV. 191.)

The Use of Christianity, especially in Difficult Times; a Sermon delivered

at the Gravel-Pit Meeting in Hackney, March 30, 1794, being the Author's Farewell Discourse to his Congregation. (2d. *Ed.* W. XV. 552.)

A Continuation of the Letters to the Philosophers and Politicians of France on the subject of Religion, and of the Letters to a Philosophical Unbeliever, in answer to Mr. Paine's Age of Reason. *Northumberland Town.* (W. XXI. 109.)

1796.

Experiments and Observations relating to the Analysis of Atmospherical Air; also farther Experiments relating to the Generation of Air from Water. Read before the American Philosophical Society, Feb. 5th and 19th, 1796, and printed in their Transactions. To which are added, Considerations on the Doctrine of Phlogiston, and the Decomposition of Water, addressed to Messrs. Berthollet, &c. *Philadelphia and London.*

Discourses relating to the Evidences of Revealed Religion, delivered in the Church of the Universalists at Philadelphia, and published at the request of many of the Hearers. Vol. I. (W. XVI. 1.)

Unitarianism Explained and Defended, in a Discourse delivered in the Church of the Universalists at Philadelphia. (W. XVI. 472.)

1797.

Observations on the Increase of Infidelity. To which are added, Animadversions on the Writings of several Modern Unbelievers, and especially the Ruins of M. Volney. (3d *Ed.* W. XVII. 1.)

Letters to M. Volney, occasioned by a Work of his entitled Ruins, and by his Letter to the Author. (W. XVII. 111.)

The Case of Poor Emigrants recommended, in a Discourse delivered at the University Hall in Philadelphia, on Sunday, Feb. 19, 1797. (W. XVI. 500.)

An Address to the Unitarian Congregation at Philadelphia; delivered on Sunday, March 5, 1797. (W. XVI. 490.)

Discourses relating to the Evidences of Revealed Religion, delivered in the Church of the Universalists at Philadelphia. Vol. II. (W. XVI. 197.)

An Outline of the Evidences of Revealed Religion. (W. XXI. 170.)

1799.

A Comparison of the Institutions of Moses with those of the Hindoos and other ancient Nations, with Remarks on M. Dupuis's Origin of all Religions; on the allegorizing Talents of M. Boullanger; the Laws and Institutions of Moses methodized: and an Address to the Jews on the present State of the World, and the Prophecies relating to it. (W. XI. 33; XVII. 129; XX. 281.)

Letters to the Inhabitants of Northumberland and its Neighbourhood, on Subjects interesting to the Author and to them. 2d *Ed.* 1801. To which is added, a Letter to a Friend in Paris relating to M. Liancourt's Travels in the North American States. (W. XXV. 109.)

1800.

The Doctrine of Phlogiston established, and that of the Composition of Water refuted. (See *supra*, pp. 426, 446, 478, *note.*)

1801.

An Inquiry into the Knowledge of the ancient Hebrews concerning a Future State. (W. XII. 482.)

1802.

A Letter to an Anti-pædobaptist. (W. XX. 463.)

A General History of the Christian Church, from the Fall of the Western Empire to the present time. Vols. I. II. (W. IX.)

1803.

The Doctrine of Phlogiston established, with Observations on the Conversion of Iron into Steel, in a Letter to Mr. Nicholson.

Socrates and Jesus compared. (W. XVII. 400.)

A Letter to the Rev. John Blair Linn, A. M., Pastor of the first Presbyterian Congregation in the City of Philadelphia, in defence of the Pamphlet, entitled, Socrates and Jesus compared. (W. XXI. 188.)

On the Originality and the Superior Excellence of the Mosaic Institutions. (W. XI. 15; XXV. 338.)

A General History of the Christian Church. Vol. III., IV. (W. X.)

A Second Letter to Rev. John Blair Linn, D. D., in reply to his Defence of the Doctrines of the Divinity of Christ and Atonement. (W. XXI. 221.)

Posthumous.

Notes on all the Books of Scripture, for the use of the Pulpit and Private Families. (W. XI.—XIV.)

The Doctrines of Heathen Philosophy compared with those of Revelation. (W. XVII. 367.)

Index to the Bible, in which the various Subjects which occur in the Scriptures are alphabetically arranged; with accurate References to all the Books of the Old and New Testaments. Designed to facilitate the Study of these invaluable Records. (W. XXV. 196.)

Four Discourses, intended to have been delivered at Philadelphia. The Duty of Mutual Exhortation. Faith and Patience. The Change which took place in the Character of the Apostles after the Resurrection of Jesus Christ. Published by desire of the Author. (W. XVI. 419.)

Letters to the Bishops upon the subject of the Controversy with Dr. Horsley. 1790. (W. XIX. 509; XXV. 188.)

Memoirs of Dr. Joseph Priestley to the Year 1795, written by himself; with a Continuation to the Time of his Decease, by his son Joseph Priestley; and Observations on his Writings, by Thomas Cooper, President Judge of the fourth District of Pennsylvania; and the Rev. William Christie.

N. B. Annexed to the Memoirs, (pp. 290—293,) is a “Catalogue of Dr. Priestley’s smaller pamphlets and uncollected papers on Philosophical subjects.” To these may be added, his papers in the Transactions of the Royal Society, contributions to periodicals, especially the Gentleman’s and Monthly Magazines, and articles, not to be ascertained, (except in one instance,) as an early writer in the Monthly Review. (See I. 27, note †. W. XVIII. 36.)

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